

University of Alberta

Gender and the University: The Debate Over Women's Studies

By

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

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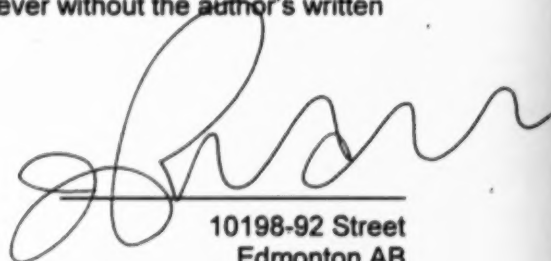
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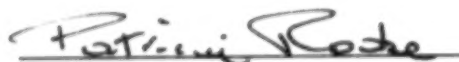
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Women's studies is a highly charged activity, a field of inquiry with explicit connections to a political movement. The nexus between women's studies as an academic enterprise and feminist political rhetoric is clear in a way that most links between academic disciplines and a broader field are not (Jean Bethke Eslhtain, 1987).

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Gender and the University: the Debate over Women's Studies submitted by Jacquelyn Suzanne Padavell in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in History of Education.



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ABSTRACT

The origins of the debate that is developed in this study can be traced at least two centuries back when Mary Wollstonecraft responded to the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau. It carried over into the beginning of the twentieth century and with the founding of faculties of Home Economics. This phenomenon was significant in that it established a precedent for a separate program of study specific to the education of women. In the 1960s the debate was revisited and produced women's studies programs in universities and colleges across North America. Conflict over segregated programs emerged from various arguments for either "separation or integration" which either reflect a belief or refutation of women's essential nature which are seen to ground the assumptions underlying the culture of separate programs devoted to consciousness raising. Despite what theorists may argue at this point there is no denying that knowledge generated by these programs is already beginning to permeate mainstream faculties.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of Winnie Tomm. Thank-you for teaching
me to think.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge the continued and ongoing support of my family and friends, too numerous and precious to mention within the confines of these pages. And thank-you to Dr. P.T. Rooke for your patience and willingness to pick up where Winnie left off.

Thank-you, Jacquelyn.

CHAPTER ONE	1
The Historical Background: Educating for Difference	1
I The Essentialist Argument	4
II Moderating the Essentialist Argument	12
III Separate Spheres	17
IV Educated Motherhood	23
V The Rise of Domestic Science	28
VI Co-education: Essentialism Diverted	32
Conclusion	34
CHAPTER TWO	36
Women's Voices: The Creation of Space and Knowledge	36
I Creating Spaces	37
II Creating Epistemologies	44
III Voice, Mastery, Authority and Positionality	55
IV What is Feminist Research?	59
V Gender as an Analytical Tool	63
VI The Women's Studies Classroom	65
Conclusion	68
CHAPTER THREE	70
Transformation, Not Tokenism	70
I Developing a Body of Knowledge:	72
(a) Transformative Learning	73
(b) Teaching as a Political Act	77
(c) The Corpus of Feminist Scholarship	78
II Gender as an Analytical Tool	80
(a) Gender and Separate Spheres	82
(b) Gender and Inclusivity	83
(c) Developing the Curriculum	85
(d) Method and Gender	86
III The Question of Assimilation	90
IV Radical Separatism	92
V Standpoint	96
(a) Subject Position	96
(b) Methodology	98
(c) Standpoint and Ethics	101
VI Autonomy, Equality, and Collaboration	103
VII The Permeation Principle	109
VIII Power and Empowerment	111
IX Role Models	113
Conclusion	115
CHAPTER FOUR	117
The Strange World of Women's Studies	117
I The Stages of Curricular Transformation	120
II Ghetto or Integration?	125
III Gender and Equity	132
IV Identity Politics	137

V IDPOL and Society	145
Conclusion	148
CHAPTER FIVE	151
The Permeation Principle	151
I Recapitulation	151
II Permeating the University of Alberta	156
II Progress and Challenges	162
Conclusion: Further Avenues to Explore	165
REFERENCES	168

List of Tables

Table 5-1 Courses in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Alberta during the Period of 1988 and 1998.....	159
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Table 5-2 Courses in Percentage at the University of Alberta in The Faculty of Arts During the Period of 1988 and 1998	161
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CHAPTER ONE

The Historical Background: Educating for Difference

"When once it is proved that men and women are and ought to be unlike in constitution and in temperament, it follows that their education must be different" J.J Rousseau, Emile (1762)

This thesis examines the question of what form women's studies ought to take. The debate over women's education or the question of gender in education is one with a history that can be traced back at least to Plato in the Republic.

Then if men or women as a sex appear to be qualified for different skills or occupations, '... we shall assign these to each accordingly; but if the only difference apparent between them is that the female bears and the male begets, we shall not admit that this is a difference relevant for our purpose, but shall still maintain that our male and female Guardians ought to follow the same occupations (Lee, 1955,233).

More recently the debate coalesced in the eighteenth century, at which point Jean Jacques Rousseau brought the issue to the public attention in his educational treatise, Emile (1762). Rousseau introduced his version of what we can see was an old debate by theorizing that as women and men have essentially different natures, then it follows their education must be tailored to meet those different needs. These educational needs were based on Rousseau's understanding of women's social roles and functions which were related to the immediate needs of a woman's family life: nurturance, childcare and household maintenance. In contrast, but based on the logic contained in the quotation that introduces this chapter, the educational needs of men were those that fitted best their social roles and functions, that is, those which would enable him to

effectively function in civil society and manage as "Paterfamilias", his own particular domain, the family.

The subject of women's education intensified when Mary Wollstonecraft responded and argued in 1791 for the need of an equal and liberal education for women in A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1791). Wollstonecraft theorized about the importance of the development of women's rational ability which, although at that point in history was largely undisciplined, essentially mirrors that of men. Nonetheless she did not depart radically from the conventional views of gender wherein women's familial responsibility based upon their biological functions remained primary. What follows from such a position is the creation of educational environments geared specifically to the educational needs of women but at the same time paying attention to the development of rationality as well as the skills required to become an effective and efficient wife and mother. The most visible manifestations of this which emerged a century after Rousseau and Wollstonecraft were separate institutions such as female seminaries and academies, which were segregated to meet the demands of female populations and especially parents' desires to form their daughters as both maternal and rational beings. The "cult of true womanhood" which describes female socialization in the nineteenth century combined both aspects. Educated mothers with knowledge of the liberal arts and classical learning were identified as being better mothers hence the notion of "educated motherhood" rather than instinctive maternalism (Reuther, 1973).

Barbara Welter (1966) spoke of the cult of true womanhood as a mystique whose virtues were domesticity, piety, purity and submissiveness and whose home was a woman's "proper sphere"; all of which Rousseau's case ironically endorses although this was not her intention! Indeed Rousseau's gendered woman is in itself a stereotype based on the conventional model of "complementariness." As Rooke (1996) points out the former religious theologies of complementariness and their social extension of separate spheres is secularized and politicized by Rousseau based not on supernatural or deistic notions but on appeals to nature itself.

By the late nineteenth century a further phenomenon can be observed in North America. A form of combined education in the sense of integrating the domestic and the rational forms emerged as separate Domestic Science or Home Economics faculties, which were often housed within Universities. With the founding of public schooling in the second half of the last century girls public schools included domestic science as part of their curriculum. At the elementary level girls were taught needlework while boys' vocational training included "shop". Therefore the emphasis remained on women's role as wife and mother even in co-educational public institutions. In these we discern Wollstonecraft's original assumption that a liberally educated women will become a better wife and mother.

It took the twentieth century for public schooling to emphasize co-education at the high school level thus replacing separate facilities and/or separate instruction within the same facilities which had been based on the

common belief that girls and young women should be removed from the negative and corrupting influence of men. At the same time the argument resounded that the female influence could civilize and restrain the aggressive male instincts. Women as the leaven to civilized society taming the male "savage breast" had always been part and parcel of social control ideologies argued by clerics, elders, patriarchs, Rousseau, or indeed, Wollstonecraft. The "cult of true womanhood" was imbued with such beliefs. These views began to be modified as progressive educators argued that women were to be freely integrated into mainstream programs and professional faculties at universities and assimilate experiences from what had been seen as male curriculum. Therefore this chapter will focus on women's education up to the first decades of the twentieth century taking into account the significance of the development of Faculties of Domestic Science as a basis for subsequent movements towards integration of women's programs into mainstream curricula and institutions and as the forerunner of later women's studies programs.

I The Essentialist Argument

It is obvious that on the issue of education and the state, Plato preceded Rousseau by hundreds of years. His views on female Guardians ("Philosopher Queens") were astonishingly radical because his proposal for the education of women was based upon individual nature rather than on gender and sex. Therefore Plato argued on special abilities thus giving little regard to premises about the reproductive role of either sex.

The Postulate of Identity directs educators to ignore individual differences within each of the three functional groups. It is this postulate that leads

Socrates to assign to the female guardians of the Just State the same education the male guardians are to receive: an education consisting of intensive physical activity in the teens; the systematic study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and harmony beginning at age twenty; and the study of dialectic beginning at thirty. Those born to play different societal roles are to be given different educational treatment. (Martin, 1985, 17).

This theory, in its exclusion of sex as a determinant is in direct contrast to Rousseau's postulates. In this, and perhaps this alone, Wollstonecraft finds support for her later formulation of Plato's argument augmented by her own particular preoccupation with maternalism.

Rousseau's educational treatise, is only part of the overall philosophical corpus that supports a theory of how individuals contribute to the social contract. To him virtuous females are necessary to just politics. (Elstain, 1981, 148). The education Rousseau proposes emphasizes the rational nature of man, the depth of which coincides with the developmental stages that moves man from dependent child to independent man. His educational premise was contrary to traditional educational practices that emphasized formal teachings as he emphasized experiences gained through Nature while he forbade through naturalistic argument any formal or moral education until adolescence. "Nature" is deployed by Rousseau "to present a picture of reality a vision of the natural state of human beings." He sees "natural" as contributing to diverse ends and purposes within his key political texts (Elstain, 1981, 150). Moreover up to adolescence the emphasis is on controlling Emile's emotions to make him strong and independent just as later his fictional counterpart, Sophie will be made dependent.

Early in *Emile*, Rousseau sets the scene for the education of independence through the control of emotions. He informs us that strength is the most desirable of virtues... Prior to the onset of puberty, Rousseau has Emile learn as much as possible. Emile learns the necessity for law as well as a host of other Rousseauist virtues, such as temperance, patience, and self-reliance, all of which are necessary for participation in the social contract " (Wexler, 1976, 272).

Upon the completion of his education, Emile meets his helpmate-Sophie.

In addition to prescribing educational requirements for Emile, Rousseau has taken it upon himself to prescribe educational requirements for Sophie so that she will fulfill her role as wife and mother- later transmitted by Victorians as the "Angel of the Hearth." In fact his is a theory that takes "the developments of the heart" that is emotions, into account. This is why his political philosophy based on virtuous family life and relationships between the sexes was so revolutionary for his time. (Elshtain, 1981, 154). The reciprocal bonds of affection and freedom between husband and wife were crucial for societal harmony. Thus the family and the polity were one and the education of women a critical factor in the equation. "The private sphere" argues Elshtain "can serve as a kind of template upon which our most powerful political sentiments are patterned" (Elshtain, 1981, 167).

Sophie -the middle class fiction- is no longer the real and historical woman who works for wages in agricultural or industrial labour. She fits the description of 'woman' as defined by the new bourgeois class, which Zillah Eisenstein (1993) considers Rousseau to have found problematic so long as she remained ornamental, or merely as a status symbol for male success. While women from this new middle class were not required to work outside the home to help

maintain their families, Rousseau proposed that motherhood and the making of citizens in the private sphere was to be their vocation- a work which would occupy them fully and contribute to the civil society in its private capacities.

He rather thinks they need to invest their energy and activity toward *useful* enterprise. The particular useful enterprise he has in mind is motherhood. Motherhood becomes the sole liberal patriarchal vision for this new woman, who is the wife of the financier, industrialist, merchant, lawyer, or law clerk (Eisenstein, 1993,58).

Rousseau's interest in middle class women- those able to afford the luxury of economic dependence on male family members- is maintained to the present day. As we shall see in later chapters, the vast majority of women in women's studies programs are middle class just as were their forebears in female seminaries, academies and domestic science programs and colleges. As Jean Bethke Elshtain (1987) observes, "complementariness" remains part and parcel of both the rhetoric of feminism and the practice of women's studies despite feminist protestations that it breaks the mould. If Rousseau did not, perhaps could not, transcend the traditional patterns and ideology of complementariness, neither have contemporary feminists. This I will address in later chapters.

This narrative is less prominently featured in feminist political rhetoric but more visible in women's studies scholarship, particularly feminist literary criticism and cultural anthropology. The starting presumption is that gender differences and embodiment matter- though how much and to what ends is culturally diverse and philosophically contestable. In addition, relations between the sexes present a complex mosaic, tell a story of contextualized complementarities. "Complementarity" is perhaps not the most felicitous term to characterize this more fluid narrative possibility- a position that flourishes, remember, only to the extent that the sex neutrality and polarity postures are exposed and critiqued in the uncompromising form (Elshtain, 1987, 321).

If "the starting presumption is that gender differences and embodiment matter" how can we deny Rousseau's premise that "it follows that their education must be different from that of men? In many ways this question and paradox will emerge throughout the following study. The argument is a hotly debated one that Sherry B. Ortner shaped in 1974 seminal essay "Is Female to Male what Nature is to Culture?" (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974) Ortner argues that despite cultural diversity, it is a universal fact that women are socially, economically, and culturally subordinate to men "within every type of social and economic arrangement and in societies of every degree of complexity..." (Ortner, 1974,67). Biological determinism postulates there is something genetically inherent in the male species that makes them the dominant sex. This inherent genetic factor is lacking in women making them subordinate and

in general quite satisfied with their position, since it affords them protection and the opportunity to maximize maternal pleasures, which to them are the most satisfying experiences of life...these facts and differences only take on significance of superior/inferior within the framework of culturally defined value system (Ortner, 1974, 71).

Culture generates or sustains systems of meaningful forms, which are used to transcend or subordinate nature. Culture is frequently associated with consciousness, which is the means used to subordinate or control nature. Women are identified and symbolically associated with nature in contrast to men who are associated with culture. Women's association with nature is a consequence of their reproductive functions which obliges them to be more involved with children and the family and the social roles that have been defined to fit her physiology. "The limitations and low levels of her children's strengths

and skills thus circumscribe her own activities: she is confined to the domestic family group; "women's place is in the home" (Ortner, 1974, 77).

In his description of Sophie, Rousseau maintains the cultural description of the female gender as determined by "the trope of separate spheres; that is, a male public theatre of commerce, politics, and institutions, and a female private domain of family, motherhood, and domesticity" (Rooke, 1996, 58). Sophie's education has been determined by her complementary nature to Emile. Their compatibility is based on their otherness for as embodied beings they are sexed and from this they become gendered. While Emile is rational and independent, Sophie is emotional and dependent. "Yet where man and woman are unlike; each is the complement to the other...where man and woman are alike we have to do with the characteristics of the species; where they are unlike, we have to do with the characteristics of sex" (Rousseau 1992, 321). These differences consequently effect the moral nature of each sex, which contributes to their functions in society.

Given Rousseau's assumptions about the innate differences of their sexual natures engendering the differences between their social roles it is not surprising that one of France's boldest enlightenment philosophers should describe different educational premises for men and for women in what amounts to a surprisingly non-radical proposition, at least at first glance. What is perhaps disappointing is that he should follow so closely the "conventions" on sexual codes that had been established under the various cultural models of "complementariness" for thousands of years which had remained unbroken, and

since the reformation when the emphasis on literacy codified these conventions in hundreds of tracts and sermons known as advice literature" (Rooke, 1996). The trope of separate spheres has formed much of the rhetoric justifying education for women, or as Fredrick Engles argued – "a world historical defeat of the female sex has been accomplished by a shift in cultural space" manifested in the literacy movements (Kerber, 1988, 13). While it was therefore an essentialist and naturalistic argument that provided Rousseau with his evidence, assumptions, and premises about women's socialization and formal education nonetheless such essentialism had dominated western thought before and throughout the Christian era with rare exceptions such as Plato in antiquity.

Rousseau's essentialist description of Sophie argues that learned behaviours- coquettishness, vanity, docility, gentleness, dependence, and cunning- are innate female characteristics therefore she is susceptible to the negative influences of the marketplace and must be educated more deliberately and consciously to maintain the family unit. "As she forms a bond between father and child, she alone can win the father's love for his children and convince him that they are indeed his own. What loving care is required to preserve a united family" (Rousseau, 1992, 324). Scrupulous attention must be paid to woman's education to prepare her for this crucial complementary role in the maintenance of the family unit.

(a) woman's education must therefore be planned in relation to man. To be pleasing in his sight, to win his respect and love, to train him in childhood, to tend him in manhood, to counsel and console, to make his life pleasant and happy, these are the duties of woman for all time, and this is what she should be taught while she is young (Rousseau, 1992, 328).

Rousseau's description of Emile's education is from the outset participatory and shaped by nature and only then does it assume academic dimensions, whereas his description for Sophie is always vocational and tactile, practical and necessary. Because of woman's lack of rational ability girls must be taught religious precepts earlier than boys in order to provide external discipline so she can attend to the details and routines of domesticity. "She has also studied all the details of housekeeping; she understands cooking and cleaning; she knows the prices of food, and also how to choose it...cleanliness is one of the necessary woman's duties, a special duty, of the highest importance and duty imposed by nature" (Rousseau, 1992, 357). Thus the metaphor, or trope of separate spheres, becomes a useful and heuristic device which suggests "an ideology imposed on women, a culture created by women, a set of boundaries expected to be observed by women" (Kerber, 1988, 17). Catherine Rubinger (1990) expresses these sentiments thus:

If one single person in the eighteenth century embodied all the forces ranged against feminists, it was Rousseau. He would endow the conservative position with all the lustre of his erratic genius, so that his conventional, stereotyped creation, Sophie, would be seen as a new ideal of womanhood. He would, almost single-handedly, in the combined effect of his *Nouvelle Heloise* and *Emile*, strike the fatal blow to the feminist thrust of the eighteenth century. (Rubinger, 1990, 60)

Although Rousseau describes the Sophie and Emile in his treatise in terms of their natural abilities (while reducing both to stereotypes to serve his didactic purposes), his idea of education is that of production. It is through her education that she becomes gendered and able to fulfill her societal role.

Sophie's essential traits are the material, which is then, through specific educational practices, turned into a product. Her education is not intended to make her an autonomous individual in a liberal state (Jane Roland Martin, 1985). How then does Wollstonecraft fare in the debate that Ortner suggests is one of male culture and female nature?

II Moderating the Essentialist Argument

Rooke (1996) recognizes that Mary Wollstonecraft's response to Rousseau's radical recreation of "Woman" as an important bearer and nurturer of culture remains problematic. "Despite her feminist revision she continued to advocate the preservation of the reproductive function as fundamental to a female education, in short Wollstonecraft claimed that even the educated women remained incomplete until she became a homemaker" (Rooke, 1996, 68). Thus Wollstonecraft seemed to adhere to a notion that males and females were intellectually equal- naturally and essentially- but that their social roles and functions not only had to be respected but also were immutably fixed. This meant a curious combination of intellectual equality and gendered differentiation in certain aspects of their educational experience. Such was to be the formula for universal public co-educational pedagogies and organization. Wollstonecraft, by insisting on the reproductive role of woman, argued that were it not for woman's training from infancy into obedience, docility, dependence, and other traits and attributes deemed necessary to becoming a wife and mother, women had the potential to be rational human beings equal to men. She denies that the above traits and attributes of the female gender are "virtues" but instead argues

that virtue comes from reasoned thought. In this she is Platonic. She also, however, advises about the necessity for women to control their passions and emotions in a form of the "management of sexual conduct" which must repress female sexuality and desire (Sydie, 1991, 37).

In fact it is a farce to call any being virtuous whose virtues do not result from the exercise of its own reason. This was Rousseau's opinion, respecting men. I extend it to women, and confidently assert that they be drawn out of their sphere by false refinement and not by an endeavour to acquire masculine qualities (Wollstonecraft, 1967, 52).

Wollstonecraft's view of women's nature, combining reason and emotion, the practical and the academic, is an intellectual antecedent to nineteenth century social thought which led to the creation of female academies and seminaries where both aspects were emphasized. Hers was a modified essentialist view. Wollstonecraft's prescription for a female education was not to "render them pleasing", but rather aimed at strengthening both mind and body (Wollstonecraft, 1967, 61). Moreover- greatly in advance of her generation- she advocated a collective public education where children could learn in a co-educational and age segregated environment with their peers rather than spending too much time in the company of adults. Her expectation was that all children up to the age of nine would be educated in physical education, botany, mechanics, arithmetic, natural history, astronomy, history and politics and after this foundation be streamed into academic or vocational training. Therefore "...by the exercise of their bodies and minds women would acquire that mental activity so necessary in the maternal character..." (Wollstonecraft, 1967, 264). Although this was Mary Wollstonecraft's vision of educational reform it was not

widely accepted and the skills most prominently taught to girls and women continued to be those needed for parenting and maintaining a household. It was to take almost a century before Wollstonecraft's view was to be preferred over Rousseau's.

Joan Burstyn (1984) points out that despite the good intentions of Wollstonecraft, much of the literature about women's education in the nineteenth century was a backlash to the theories promoting women's rights in the "salons" of the so-called "bluestockings" or intellectual women.

Many such books of the early decades of the nineteenth century were written in reply to the audacious advocates of women's rights: to Mary Wollstonecraft's call for self-reliant women, they replied that the mothers and grandmothers of the present generation had found fulfillment in serving as helpmeets to their husbands (Burstyn, 1984,36).

But it is important to note that in the "salons" there had existed a strain of anti-essentialist, even embryonic feminist thought, in opposition to the Christian tradition and Rousseau's naturalism as has been demonstrated by Catherine Rubinger (1990) who examines eighteenth century France with Rousseau and Mme Lambert at polar extremes in their treatment of women's education. However de Lambert does not divert from the maternalism that predominates the discourse when she advises women should "fortify" their minds in an education provided to daughters by mothers.

To this end, she outlines a program of study where the work is done by the student, and of which the student herself is the object, with the mother serving as guide and counsellor. Each convention concerning women is examined critically and nuances defined. For example, the little girl must learn obedience to authority but not at the expense of her freedom of action and thought (Rubinger, 1990, 61).

The historical precedents that are predominately essentialist seem to have influenced women's studies programs just as before them domestic science programs and the cult of true womanhood reflect this philosophical perspective in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rousseau and Wollstonecraft are still part of the contemporary debate although Wollstonecraft is favoured and Rousseau is not. Burstyn and others such as Ruether (1973) and Welter (1966) describe this phenomenon as "the cult of true womanhood" in the nineteenth century. At this point education for women was at least being given credence, whereas prior to Rousseau and Wollstonecraft it was haphazard and sporadic, focusing on the acquisition of social skills in an informal sense always taking a back seat to the systematic and formal education of boys.

In North America, it is generally acknowledged that another woman intellectual provided a critical transition between the longer historical period of non-formal education and the shorter period of formal "domestic" education for women, that is, the transition from antiquity to the nineteenth century. By making female education respectable and non-threatening, Catherine Beecher provides this link. She follows, however, the long essentialist discourse by insisting that even if women's natures are different from men's there is nonetheless, no reason not to 'educate' these natures appropriately.

Catharine Beecher was among the first to engage in the task of both nationalizing and personalizing the American domestic environment. Like others so engaged, she found the key to her task in gender roles. The dichotomies of masculine and feminine identity could be orchestrated to agree with both a standardized cultural score and a specialized personal calling (Sklar, 1973, XII).

Beecher advocated zealously to have women's domestic role professionalized, assuming this was the key to self-fulfillment. She emphasized "distinctive divisions of responsibility" whereby "women had an ascribed role different from men's, within that she envisaged professional structures based on achievement" (Burstyn, 1974, 388). Her advocacy for having women's domestic responsibilities more clearly and formally defined led her to become one of her nation's most ardent educational reformers. Catharine Beecher was responsible for the establishment of normal schools that focused specifically on the training of young women to teach in the Western United States. "Her twofold mission was to teach mothers how to care for children, and to prepare teachers to educate children from unfortunate homes" (Burstyn, 1974, 390). In keeping with trends toward professionalization, which in and of itself has a division of labour prescribing roles to practitioners and researchers she defined women's work as

educating young children, caring for newborn babies, children, and the sick, and attending to the management of the household, which included designing and furnishing new houses, selecting and managing the fuel supplies of kitchen stoves and furnaces, selecting and preparing foods, planning and making clothes (Burstyn, 1974, 390).

From this she drew on her own experience and systemized the work, making generalizations and innovations, then published the result in such books as a Treatise on Domestic Economy (1843) and The American Woman's Home (1869).

Beecher's theories around the education of women can be compared to both Rousseau and Wollstonecraft. Like Rousseau her arguments promote the notion of a division of labour based upon gender and defined by public and

private spheres. While denying women a citizenship gained through the franchise, however, her theory diverges from Rousseau's when she argues that in order for women to perform their duties in the home effectively they must be capable of, and educated into a discipline of reasoned thought. Beecher insisted, like Wollstonecraft, on a liberal education for women but unlike Wollstonecraft, Beecher does not call for full participatory citizenship. Catherine Beecher denies the need for women's participation as citizens by relying instead on the benevolence of husbands and male relatives to make the needs of women known in the body politic as proxies or representatives of women. While Rousseau minimizes the contributions of homemakers in the public domain, Beecher valorizes such activities by emphasising the importance of a family's dependence on wives and mothers as well as the educational aspect of parenting: " ... the domestic role traditionally assigned women is of overriding significance, particularly in its educative aspect, and demands as much intelligence as any other societal function" (Roland Martin, 1985, 137). Citizenship, for Beecher, comprises active involvement by men but a secondary contribution through the private domain. Again we see the continuity of "complementariness" even in "new" societies.

III Separate Spheres

According to historians such as Joan Burstyn (1984) from Great Britain, Rosemary Ruether (1973) and Barbara Welter (1966) from the United States and Veronica Strong-Boag (1988) from Canada, Rousseau's particular brand of essentialism assumed "cult" proportions among the nineteenth century middle

classes of Anglophone societies. A whole array of socializing forces reinforced the trope of separate spheres and the cult of "true womanhood" by emphasising the different natures, therefore roles and functions, of men and women. These socializing forces included sermons, pamphlets, addresses, advice literature (both moral and medical), popular culture, journals, magazines, women's sections in the mass media, women's clubs, charity work, institutes, and a whole range of experts such as psychologists, educators, pediatricians and gynecologists (Rooke, 1996). Both critics of women's education and proponents for a "female education" (which suggest a separate or different education) reflected the cult of true womanhood. None could escape the imperatives of sexed bodies and gendered roles.

While social constructionism fed the cult it remained, nonetheless, based on views of nature. "Separate spheres were due neither to cultural accident nor to biological determinism. They were social constructions, camouflaging social and economic service, a service whose benefits were unequally shared" (Kerber, 1989, 14). Linda Kerber stresses that the cult and its spatial manifestations (separate spheres) are not to be seen only as cultural impositions- or that which was done to women by men- but a reciprocal relationship to each other. "The most serious deficiency of a model based upon two opposite spheres," she wrote, "appears...in its alliance with the dualism's of the past, dichotomies which teach that women must be understood not in terms of relationship- with other women and with men-but of difference and apartness" (Kerber 1989, 38).

Apart from convention, what problems did the critics of a formalized "female education" as it was called foresee? There were several. First, learning interfered with the functioning of the ideal woman because it taught her to reason and reason was perceived as a threat to woman's natural ability to be intuitive: a learned woman therefore lost her essential femininity. Education could only include the development of a women's intellect as far as her femininity would allow. Second, her education must prepare her for her life in the home because middle class women had little access to work outside the home apart from volunteerism in the various charities and benevolent societies. Third as many middle class children were taught at home before universal public school much of this early education was performed by mothers, sisters, or aunts. The conservation of middle class values was zealously guarded and perpetuated by these moral watchdogs. Separate spheres served middle class economic interest well. Of course none of this separatism or the privacy of the household applied to working class women. They had neither the leisure nor the money to luxuriate in ideas about educated motherhood and domestic economy. Those who defended the Victorian ideal of womanhood were convinced that liberal higher education would be totally ill suited for these social roles and functions; few believed women, let alone working class women, were capable of serious study.

Finally it was believed that a formal education would leave a woman discontented and ill prepared for her vocation- marriage (Burstyn, 1984). Burstyn further suggests that mothers and clergymen were largely responsible for the

oversight of the education of women in the complicated management of the household before mass production. Domestic economy was an application as can be seen by the growing reliance on advice books that focused on the management of cooks, households and nannies, domesticity, pediatrics, and child rearing.

Women's demand for education brought together those whose opinions on social or intellectual issues would normally be quite opposite. While Fundamentalist Christians preached complementarity its practice culminated in the subordination of women and their inferiority to men. While such views were not held by humanists, fundamentalists and humanists could agree on their opposition to higher education for woman because many felt that the exposure of women to education may have serious consequences with regard to the moral purity of women. It was suggested that some of the reading material they would be required to study could pose a moral danger as Greek and Latin literature was notorious for references to sexual licentiousness thereby undermining a woman's natural sense of modesty and innocence (Burstyn, 1984). However religious groups too were divided on these issues. There was little universality or homogeneity between and among Christian leaders or their practices regarding women.

Even as early as last century prevailing psychological and developmental theories influenced people's attitude toward education and human achievement. For example, nineteenth century Victorians believed that women's brains were less developed than men's and therefore women could never hope to compete

intellectually with males. Some of the more outlandish popular psychologists feared that too much stress might make a women incapable of producing children which evoked great anxiety because "(n)o society could survive in which women had lost their true function in life- to reproduce the species" (Burstyn, 1984, 80). Under such social pressures parents were unwilling to educate their daughters especially when their doubts were validated by pseudo-scientific theories no matter how dubious or spurious. When women attempted to gain entry into various fields of professional and liberal education they confronted a cumulation of arguments concerning stress, lack of intellectual ability and the potential physiological problems.

Perhaps the greatest resistance facing women and their attempt to procure education came from the clergy. The moral and religious arguments used by the clergy not only reinforced the nineteenth century Victorian ideal of womanhood but assembled theological premises to persuade the laity and the general public of the futility of education for women. "The times were conducive to these beliefs, and many felt they had God on their side in opposing women's aspirations. To go against the Lord's directives was to court disaster" (Burstyn, 1984,115). However lest we fall into our own stereotypes of religion it must be noted that it was in religious schools that women were educated as far back as the Protestant Reformation and religious imperatives encouraged women's education in the fifteenth century into classical subjects and the liberal arts as well as the conventional "feminine arts." Higher education for women in academies and seminaries were uniformly religious establishments. Moreover

Rooke (1996: 1, 1996:2) is explicit that it was the Protestant Reformation and religious imperatives that encouraged women's education from the fifteenth century.

The educational pattern established for women during this time period was one based on an ideal that was somewhat problematic. Some of the inherent problems were the economic realities of a single wage earner and usually a husband or father who was expected to support unmarried daughters and a number of other female relatives. Additionally, the needs of the individual woman who sought her vocation beyond the institution of marriage were not taken into consideration.

The Victorian Ideal of womanhood was a creation of the leisured middle classes and in a newly industrialized society became particularly difficult for the mercantile and commercial middle-classes to maintain. Clearly it could only be a luxury for rural and working class women and men. A combination of economic and real life situations whereby an increase in the number of women dependent upon the support of a lone male made the ideal an economic hardship for male family members and the "marriage market" was fraught with uncertainty in the nineteenth century, which was usually recognised as one of a surplus of marriageable women (known as the "woman question").

Reasons for this increase among women who were unmarried through necessity, not choice, included a rise in the age of marriage, demand for parents for sons-in-law with sound financial position, rise in the number of permanent bachelors, and higher emigration among men than women (Burstyn, 1984, 121).

A more practical or vocational education was necessary for women if they were not to become destitute because they were not always able to rely on the beneficence of a man.

The reality of women's acceptance of this ideal of womanhood was that it left them empty and unfulfilled while the emphasis on leisure and the "accomplishments," in a class where ambition and hard work were virtues gave them the appearance of sloth. "Some young women, despising the idleness imposed upon them by their family's status, decided to seek jobs for themselves...In work, they had learned, lay the true purpose of life..." (Burstyn, 1984, 135). The social conditions so eloquently described by Burstyn mainly pertain to Britain and were not always mirrored in new world societies of North America where immigration to the colonies was not a factor (indeed in Canada and the United States women were in short supply) and where colonial military service did not deplete the pool of eligible bachelors. Nonetheless much of the discourse prevailed and under quite different geo-cultural conditions the cult of true womanhood stood firm (Ruether 1973; Welter 1966). Given the differences, however, it was in North America and particularly the Republic, that women made the first dramatic breakthroughs in formal education and professional entry (Solomon, 1985).

IV Educated Motherhood

Despite attempts to maintain the focus of women's education on household affairs, the thrust for liberal education became insistent. Burstyn (1984) notes that the original move toward higher education was the

consequence of two particulars: first the need of the middle class for educated women to raise their children; and secondly, as an avenue for the less affluent middle-class women to support themselves in times of stress such as widowhood, spousal illness, or separation if married and subsistence if single. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (1984) maintains that this trans-atlantically, in that the principles of the American Revolution were instrumental in providing opportunities for girls and women to access higher education.

The Revolution has begun its work for women. As their lives changed during the tumultuous years following Independence, a new appreciation of the value of women's traditional tasks elevated their sphere. American women ceased to be helpmeets. They became mothers of the Republic. They nurtured the future electorate and representatives of the polity (Horowitz, 1984, 10).

It was necessary for the moral guardians to now understand politics. Schools grew larger, requiring more teachers, and older children were being supervised to provide education for younger children. To prepare women for these new roles, seminaries or academies focused on activities ranging from "...polite accomplishments, others promised skills useful for housekeeping" and took up the task of educating women for "teaching and for Republican motherhood" (Horowitz, 1984, 11).

In spite of the fact that a woman's ultimate goal was marriage and family life, the introduction of public education changed the lives of women by irrevocably breaking with the past. Because public education was co-educational in spirit if not always so temporally it consequently reversed the former tenets of the essentialist arguments. The period between girlhood and marriage increased

and a brief period of semi-autonomy occurred where certain females were able to make choices about education and employment.

Although marriage remained the ultimate goal for most women, these varied courses of action prolonged the period of youth... Female students, enamoured with their new independence and influenced by their educators, deliberated more carefully before marrying. Their education and the opportunities it afforded re-enforced their sense of the seriousness of the marriage commitment (Solomon, 1985, 31).

For the most part middle-class women who worked were employed as teachers until marriage. This was not an unusual occupation being seen as an extension of their nurturing and feminine roles. If they did not get married, education was a lifelong occupation. Both opponents and proponents of women's rights promoted the notion of higher education for women, and frequently saw it as an appropriate preparation for homemaking and domesticity. Teaching was deemed a suitable occupation for women largely because it was seen as an extension of those maternal and womanly attributes, which came under the auspices of the cult of true womanhood. Likewise nursing and social welfare were approved professions as they did not threaten either complementarity or the male social order. Maternal virtues that were nurtured in the private sphere became part of the public sphere so long as they reflected these gendered domains and did not subvert civil society.

In marriage too, women's roles were changing in keeping with an increase in their education as well as the rapidly accelerating forces of industrialization and capitalism. As the 'Angel of the Hearth' women were to provide refuge for men and children from the coarseness and instability of society 'writ large'. Thus the home has been described by historians as "a haven in a heartless land."

While the ability to support a wife was the mark of success for a man an educated wife was expected to temper her spouse's drive for commercial success and maintain the spiritual health of the home. "Increasingly, the professionally educated man insisted that a bright, educated female would make the best of wives; she could use her learning and intelligence as a partner and a homemaker" (Solomon, 1985, 37). Leonardi supports this claim when she observes "They also became the women promised by propagandists for women's education; superwomen, the best and most self-sacrificing of wives and mothers, dedicated public servants, selfless idealists, saviors of humankind" (Leonardi, 1989,6). Although motherhood was an idealized state, nonetheless it was the role within which most women found the greatest degree of fulfillment. The focus of a mother's attention was directed toward the moral instruction of the nation's children while such circumscribed child rearing was elaborated to embrace the ideology that women were responsible for the moral fabric of the entire society. They were in short, not merely housewives but housekeepers of the nation.

Women who identified themselves as moral instructors in classrooms and homes expanded their obligations beyond charities and Sunday schools to address problems of social deviance of their time including prostitution and drinking. While still operating within the domestic female sphere, women entered the realm of public policy (Solomon, 1985, 40).

Thus we see the essentialist argument took upon itself an ambitious and all embracing conception of women's special nature hitherto unknown. The private sphere was now at one with the public sphere.

Women's causes in the nineteenth century embraced abolition of slavery and women's rights in the United States where the first major shift in women's

education can be discerned. Suffrage was identified as the means by which women's lives would be improved, alongside demands for fair wages, equity in domestic relations, full citizenship, and access to male controlled colleges and professional schools. Not suprisingly then suffrage followed the founding of female institutions of higher learning. During the last half of the nineteenth century, the number of colleges allowing entrance to women expanded significantly. According to Solomon (1985) in 1870 there were 582 educational institutions in the United States, 59% of these institutions educated men only, 12% educated women only and 29% were co-educational. Canadian colleges began opening their doors to women in the 1860s. Mount Allison in New Brunswick allowed women beginning in 1862 and in 1875 gave the first degree to women in Canada.

Other universities quickly followed, 1878, Queen's, in 1878 Dalhousie, in 1884 McGill and University College, Toronto. Not all courses, however, were open to women. For example, McGill University would not permit women to enter its faculty of medicine until 1917. Nevertheless women persevered. By 1900 women composed 11 per cent of all college students (Cook and Mitchinson, 1976, 120).

Prior to acceptance into Universities, like the situation south of the border women who wanted an education above elementary and secondary level were required to attend academies that frequently had religious affiliations and were taught the classics such as Greek, Latin, Philosophy, Literature, History, and Geometry. These courses were considered by some to useless to the education of women and " a challenge to domestic sanctity" (Cook and Mitchinson, 1976, 119).

"Between the 1850 and the 1870s, several models developed: the private women's college, the secular co-educational institution, both public and private,

and the public single-sex vocational institution" (Solomon, 1985, 47). Regardless of where women attended, the intention of the educational institution to prepare women to assume their duties as wives and mothers remained consistent. However the assumptions behind the founding of sex-segregated academies, seminaries, in both Canada and the Republic, as well as the rise of domestic "science" in their curricula (or domestic economy as it was also known) are precursors to a recovery of essentialist arguments that generated the impetus for women's studies programs in the following century.

V The Rise of Domestic Science

Regardless of which institute, segregated or co-educational, college curricula began to introduce subjects that prepared women for their future role as homemakers. Although seen by some women as a step backward, by the 1900s "home economics gained a solid place as an academic offering" (Solomon, 1985, 85). One historian describes domestic science as:

Domestic science is the application of scientific principles to the management of a Home, or briefly—correct living. It teaches the value of pure air, proper food, systematic management; economy of time, labour, and money; higher ideals of homelife, and its relation to the state; more respect for domestic occupations; the prevention of disease; civic and domestic sanitation; care of children; home nursing, and what to do in emergencies; in short, a direct education for women as homemaker's (Stamp, 1977, 25).

The additional benefit of an education in home economics was that opened up other avenues for employment outside of the more traditional areas of teaching: such as various fields in immigration and agriculture.

Although on an elementary level home economics did focus on courses in cooking and sewing, at advanced levels innovative advocates stressed its

social and scientific implications. In urban communities applications to nutrition and diet helped social workers dealing with poor, immigrant, and black families. Home economics had even more relevance for agricultural and farming communities (Solomon, 1985, 87).

If Catherine Beecher can be seen as a transitional figure straddling Rousseau's essentialist and Wollstonecraft's more liberal views she nonetheless cannot be understood outside the sensibility of the cult of true womanhood and its legitimation of separate spheres. Mother/daughter socialization or training by feminine precept was, however, supplemented by a more formal pedagogical approach- within the compulsory state school systems- domestic science. The private arts of housewifery were to become public and professional thus gendered "separate spheres" could still be maintained in the public domain without subverting conventional views of social stability. This minimized what was called earlier in the century the "battle between the sexes" and more recently as the "gender wars."

On the northern side of the border, Adelaide Hoodless had launched a crusade similar to that of Catherine Beecher, advocating for the introduction of "domestic subjects into the elementary school programme" (Gillett, 1981, 347). Domestic science at the college or university level followed its inclusion in the public school curriculum for the purpose of training teachers and, for those with access to post-secondary education, wives "to raise the kitchen to the dignity of the laboratory and .. add the charm of scientific interest to the housewife's tasks" (Gillett, 1981, 347). Although there were informal classes and small private schools offering courses on domestic science and cooking, the first province to support such an idea at a university and vocational level was Ontario with a

degree program in Household Science at the University of Toronto, Victoria College beginning in 1902 and The Macdonald Institute of Home Economics in 1904.

Adelaide Hoodless- more frequently referred to in the literature as Mrs. John Hoodless- was instrumental in having domestic science included in both public school and post-secondary curricula (MacDonald, 1986, and Rowles, 1964). Her zeal is said to have been the result of the death of one of her children which may have been caused by contaminated food or milk (MacDonald, 1986). As the Board of Education was not yet receptive to her ideas, the focus of Hoodless' attention was cooking classes at the YWCA, the first of which was held in Hamilton on January 20, 1894. Notice of such a course was reported in both Hamilton newspapers. The opening of such classes created both news and controversy because of attitudes toward Victorian women, notably those about women and work. Although some women worked out of necessity, work outside the home was looked down upon because of the coarse and competitive nature of the work place.

(T)he proper sphere of the Victorian woman was the home, where she could exert her influence for good over the family. For middle class women in particular, it was not good enough to be a supportive wife, nurturing mother and good moral example. She must be a skilled manager of the home, seeing to all the myriad of tasks essential to a family's comfort and to the demands of society (MacDonald, 1986, 41).

Cooking classes at the YWCA were a small part of what was soon to become a national campaign to educate women in household management that was essential to the quality of Canadian life. The impetus to have it included in school curriculum was to prepare girls for their roles as family caretakers.

"Because schools emphasized a classical education for boys and girls alike, Adelaide felt young women were unprepared for their primary work as wives and mothers" (MacDonald, 1886, 46). Like some arguments made against women's studies, domestic science from the start was considered to be less rigorous than more traditional forms of scholarship (MacDonald, 1986 and Petrat and DeZwart 1995). Supporters of the cause argued that such training would make young women more competent at household tasks, "it fostered practicality, common sense, as well as the more important aspects of the so-called classical education" (MacDonald, 1986, 67).

As home economics programs matured, instructors began to include courses that focused specifically on women and their roles in family and society, much like women's studies currently does. In her discussion on the impact women have had on liberal education, Solomon (1985) cites specific examples of the feminization of college curriculum.

At the University of Chicago Sophonisba Breckinridge's course entitled "The Legal and Economic Position of Women" studied the roles of women in the family as well as in industry and the professions. Courses in economics, sociology, and anthropology could also focus on these themes. Emily Greene Balch's Wellesley course on consumerism compared the incomes and budgets of middle and working class women; the syllabus included Charlotte Perkins Gilman's feminist *Women and Economics*. At Goucher Dr. Lillian Welsh introduced public health and hygiene courses, and Professor Mary Williams gave a course on the history of the women's rights movement. A social economist at the University of Washington in 1911, Theresa McMahon, taught an array of courses on women and economics, including "Women in Business and Industry" and "Vocational Opportunities for Women in the Pacific Northwest." Moreover, her advocacy of unionism emphasized the needs of working women (Solomon, 1985, 87).

What is fascinating is that courses with topics similar to those presented at the beginning of the twentieth century can be found in women's studies courses today especially those that have sufficient content to be cross-listed in women's studies from their originating discipline.

VI Co-education: Essentialism Diverted

As a topic or mode of education, co-education has been considered by different people to have various meanings- males and females receiving an education in the same colleges, universities or schools but not the same education, the same education taught by the same university but on different campuses. According to historian Thomas Woody (1966) this is a discussion that goes back to 1854, at which time trends in co-education were being observed in public schools. "By the end of the nineteenth century the practice of co-education in public schools was almost universal" (Woody, 1966, 225). Reasons cited for co-educational schools included most predominantly the economy of having both genders in the same facility taught by the same teachers, convenience, and the fact that at the elementary level there is little appreciable difference between males and females (Woody, 1966). With older children and young adults there was less support for co-education. However liberals and the economy were determinants of this and it became common for males and females to be educated at high school in the same location although not always in the same subjects. Co-education at the post-secondary education level was becoming more frequent, though not without conflict, and universities were beginning to admit women who sought higher education or entrance in

professional faculties. Arguments for and those who supported education for women did so on the basis of human rights and equal access to education. Economics was also a significant factor given the inability of communities and women's educational associations to raise sufficient funds to establish and run separate colleges (Burstyn, 1974).

The period between 1833 to 1870 was one of experimentation with co-education, usually beginning on a small scale as at Oberlin and Antioch. The adoption of the principle by such influential institutions as Michigan and Wisconsin in the West, and Cornell in the East, exerted a powerful influence on its general acceptance elsewhere (Woody, 1966, 250).

There of course were legions of detractors who believed the presence of women would contaminate the educational process who as a consequence of their physiology were unfit for higher learning, and the possible decline in their morality through association with man and the classics (Rothman 1980; Solomon, 1985; Gillett, 1988). The backlash against co-education in the early twentieth century gave rise once again to segregation in both instruction and location through the use of coordinate colleges and separate programs.

Having overcome numerous obstacles to higher education for women, the conflict remained over whether or not women should be educated in isolation or allowed entrance into traditionally male educational institutions. While women were pushing for entrance into established academies, men were attempting to block their entry by using arguments that intimidated female students; they were a distraction to men's concentration and intellectual discipline, and that they would become mannish by association and exposure to 'male' ideas. Women would also lower academic standards, a suggestion that continued throughout

the century right up to the present controversies around women's studies. Susan J. Leonardi's Dangerous by Degrees (1989) brilliantly portrays these male fears although describing the Oxford situation (which did not grant women degrees until May 11, 1920 and Cambridge over two decades later). Oxford had women's colleges such as Somerville since 1879 but no woman dean or principal was a University member. The colleges were not given University status, and no degrees were given although the course work was completed. Solomon (1985), Martin (1985) and Horowitz (1984) all support similar experiences across the Atlantic. Men feared educated women would "get out of hand," take over, attack and reject men, destroy the 'womanly women', refuse marriage and seize power" (Leonardi 1989,6). Martin, in her discussion of Rousseau's fears, illustrates the historical antecedents to such fears that women would develop characteristics "not by nature" theirs (Martin, 1985, 41).

The solution seemed to be to segregate women in single-sex institutions. Curiously for the most part academic women were supportive of this, but their support was conditional on the understanding that the education they were to receive had to be equal to that given to the nation's men. "...Some leading female educators saw separate instruction as a necessary but temporary stage in the process of attaining full equal joint education" (Solomon, 1985, 61).

Conclusion

Education for women is an area that has been fraught with conflict for the past two centuries. Dialogue has been ongoing about what is appropriate and necessary for women and often these discussions were based on perceived

"natural" tendencies and behaviours. Social forces and rising expectations also played a large part in the movement to provide girls and women with an education equal to that provided for boys and men. Popular notions of womanhood inspired educational administrators to direct large numbers of women into faculties of home economics whereas feminist scholars preferred access to traditional disciplines. The body of this thesis will explore this project and see how it was carried out in the second half of the twentieth century when women thought the experiment in co-education had failed- it had neither improved relations between men and women nor had it by the 1960's opened up avenues of access in employment, salaries or professions equal to men- and in rejecting the traditional disciplines returned again to the ideas of separatism.

CHAPTER TWO

Women's Voices: The Creation of Space and Knowledge

"The creation of a separate, public female sphere helped mobilize women and gained political leverage in the larger society. A separatist political strategy, which I refer to as "female institution building," emerged from the middle-class women's culture of the nineteenth century" (Freedman, 1979, 513).

We have seen in Chapter One that women's education has historically been polarised by extremes in thought about the purpose and function of women's education. I have already referred to Rousseau's dictum that women be educated according to their special and different natures: that the difference between men and women does and should make a difference in their education, and to Mary Wollstonecraft's tart response that women whose capacity for reason was equal to men also had a right to the same education (Martin, 1985, 70-102). The previous chapter discussed how this discourse on a female education and its various practices contributed to female institution building, which has culminated in women's studies as an area and program of study, scholarship, and research.

In addition to providing a separate space for female students, women's studies has also focused on generating a separate knowledge base, founded on the assumption that women think, know, and learn differently according to their different socialization and gendered experiences. Feminist scholars do not want merely to be accommodated by mainstream scholarship or assimilated into it but rather, to dramatically

transform its assumptions by revising its canons, re-examining its methodologies, and radicalising its pedagogies. None of this is any small thing. Therefore women's studies is a highly contested arena on university campuses. Questions surrounding women's studies have produced a highly politicised forum, an ideological as much as an epistemological space, which constructs new forms of knowledge and alters the face of existing knowledge. These ideas have, in turn, generated theories around the creation of pedagogies and philosophies based on feminist ethics and an ethic of care that describes how women interact with their world. These ethics have come to take into consideration such sociological constructs as race, gender, and social class, whose concepts are framed by theories of asymmetrical power relations.

The following pages are not to be seen as an uncritical acceptance of the arguments presented. They are intended only to represent as faithfully as possible those points of views that have been accepted as commonplace among feminists and are used in order to establish the context in which women's studies have been established and the assumptions on which their programs continue to operate.

I Creating Spaces

Preceding the establishment of women's studies programs in the second half of the twentieth century we witnessed the founding of "women's centres" on college and university campuses in the early 1970's. These centres can be seen as responses to the women's movement which was involved in social action and

the politicization of the broader society; such social action demonstrated an apparent need for support systems for those who were re-entering school and the workforce (Chamberlain 1991, 83). These centres varied in mandate; the services that were offered ranged from social service oriented centres to those that focused on academic subjects and programs.

Women's centres responded to the needs of women returning to school in the 1960's after interruptions in education often due to family responsibilities. Such interruptions left many women with incomplete educations and in need of training that would enable them to re-enter the workforce. While focusing on the needs of women in education and employment, women's centres simultaneously and systematically engaged in consciousness-raising programs and particularly exposed discrimination toward women through the process of their socialisation and the entrenchment of societal norms based on gender roles (Chamberlain 1991,85). It has been argued that consciousness-raising can be equated with "transformative learning" and might be included under the aegis of education as an intentional activity which includes shaping individual and collective world views in order to influence attitudinal and social change by maximising opportunities for experiential learning, developing political and civic skills, forming a cogent sense of female group identity, and encouraging a sense of self, confidence and competence (Rooke and Schnell, 1995, pp.9-11). Indeed in this sense women's centres and women's studies have kept to a position the feminist movement has espoused from its nineteenth century roots. Operating from the axiom "the

personal is political" [which has Marxist roots] consciousness-raising has as its dialectic the relationship between action research and practical politics.

As an additional form of consciousness raising, another area of influence demonstrated by women's centres was in challenging traditional forms of research and scholarship and eventually sponsoring alternative scholarship and research that which did not normally make its way into libraries and classrooms. This era of advocacy on behalf of women can be credited with bringing feminist theory and practice to university.

Women's Studies, in every discipline, has two basic impulses or commitments. One is negative, the other positive; one is critical, the other constructive; one is to challenge patriarchy, the other to study and understand women in their own right and in their own terms; one is a demand for liberty, the other a search for identity. Although some scholars focus more on one than the other of these two great themes, women's studies as a whole, and many individual works, interweave them (Coyner, 1983, 124).

Over the course of the past twenty years, many of the former non-traditional emphases of women's centres on campus have been usurped by the implementation of more conventional academic policies and stronger community organizations taking over their functions and women's studies programs (Chamberlain, 1991).

Women's studies programs were not necessarily an out-growth of women's colleges but were rather a new program brought to co-ed institutions in response to what was seen as a need. Beginning in the 1970s, courses offered were introduced on an experiential basis in seminars and informal situations by feminist scholars on faculty (Chamberlain 1991, 138). The creation of a women's studies

program rather than a department was seen as a more effective way of changing the traditional curriculum, by including tenured and non-tenured teaching staff who were in established faculties or departments. With a co-ordinator at the centre, the programs were organised in an interdisciplinary fashion, drawing on the expertise of established academics. A typical women's studies program consists of core courses, an interdisciplinary introductory course and cross-listed courses in various departments (Chamberlain 1991,140).

The establishment of women's studies programs was not without contestation. There has been conflict between the academic feminists and community feminists, or women who identified themselves as activists, women who...

felt strong hostility to academe's general elitism and irrelevance to women's real needs. 'Academic' women, on the other hand, were often criticized for positions they held (or aspired to) within academe...The academic women were challenged for having too much power with the movement, constituting an internal elite to be resisted (Coyner, 1983, 112).

The internal elite Coyner refers to is seen to be the liberal arm of the second wave of the feminist movement, whose members sought change from within by adhering to and abiding by the rules of the establishment. Opposition to such ideals came (comes) from the radical faction that opposes the hierarchy of academia and values of traditional scholarship and epistemological development and sees women's studies as a "means to women's liberation, rather than an end in itself" (Coyner, 1983, 122). Academics are perceived to be "career feminists" by community activists and often, by their colleagues. The tension deepened between the belief in a need for new epistemologies and transformed structures, more creative

pedagogies, a more rigorous student evaluation process, and a sensitivity to the relationships between instructor and student that maintained power relations in the traditional university. Alternatively academic feminism pragmatically attempted to conform and adhere to these conventions. Legitimisation of women's studies required scholarly integrity that must meet the standards and norms of mainstream scholarship in the academy.

As Maher and Teterault comment in The Feminist Classroom (1994):

Besides the disciplines, the structure of academic institutions acts to restrain positional knowing. At research universities (like Arizona), academic status derives from scholarly expertise in the discipline, and the norms of 'good teaching' presume hierarchical arrangements of knowledge and authority. Thus feminist teachers must present not only scholarly expertise equal to their male colleagues, but also the same kind of authority as their male colleagues in the classroom, even if they are also trying to enlist their students in more democratic means of interaction (Maher p. 211).

One of the purposes of women's studies programs has been to establish organised centres for research. This in turn encourages the development of a body of knowledge and literature which can be seen as the impetus behind the creation and publication of journals and readers with a feminist agenda and focus on women. In the early 1970s, when women's studies emerged, programs had five goals to fulfill: (1) to raise the consciousness of students and faculty about women's absence from the androcentric focus of mainstream [sometimes referred to as malestream] scholarship and their status in society; (2) to provide courses to compensate for this absence; (3) to build a body of specialised research; (4) to "re-envision history and the lost culture of women" (Chamberlain 1991,145); and (5) to change the education of women and men through the changing of mainstream curriculum. More recently another goal has been to

open up fields of employment for women doing feminist research, and create opportunities for women to bring feminist perspectives to the public sphere in employment outside of the academy in areas such as law, counselling, politics and economics (Chamberlain 1991,145).

Since its inception, there has been a shift in women's studies curriculum to include the concept of "difference" based on identity politics and what is called positional knowing. In a sense, women's studies and feminism alike have critiqued and moved away from the "white middle-class norm" to a theoretical and practical emphasis that includes differences of race, gender, social class and sexuality not as isolated constructs of but as intersections with one another. In conjunction with its original goals recent shifts in women's studies programs/curriculum explain the need for opening up this intellectual space for women's learning (Fonow and Cook, 1991, 1-15).

Through the act of creating space the women's studies classroom makes room for difference. Shulamit Reinharz discusses the differences women's studies classrooms encompass:

The question of difference is one with the question of identity. It is becoming the critical question for feminist theorizing in all the disciplines including social science research methods as feminists begin to question and challenge the implicit male perspective of the dominant paradigms, methodological strictures, and theoretical assumptions of the various disciplines. (Reinharz, 1992, 3).

In addition to the differences between a feminist and traditional methodology, Shulamit Reinharz discusses the differences that occur among feminists on basic issues such as the definition of feminism and beliefs about sexism and the origins

of patriarchy which subsequently shape research and epistemology (Reinharz, 1992, 6).

Linda Gordon (1991) also discusses "difference" and the impact it has on the classroom. She describes two major approaches to the ideas of difference and their meanings; one that looks at gender and the other that looks at cultural, racial and ethnic differences. Her initial theorization concentrates on gender-the sociological differences that are attributed to 'sexed bodies'. A working definition of gender is "the social construction of sexed bodies in relation to other" (Rooke, EDFDN 101,1994). Currently this dualistic or dichotomous relationship that defines one gender in terms of the other has been often overlooked. The emphasis on women to the extent that the very word *gender* elicits an immediate connection- women- and has become almost a code word for feminist politics.

Originally "differences" generalized a universal picture of woman based largely on her reproductive traits echoing the cultural feminists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Gordon 1991). At different times, two opposing views of women have been promoted. The first view usually represents an essential nature and the second one denies innate differences (other than biological) by attributing these to experience and social construction. These views of "difference" have at times contributed to conflict within feminism itself. Despite these opposing views, women's studies programs have served to create a space for women; temporal, spatial and epistemological -or as Winnie Tomm states- a "commitment to create social and cultural spaces in which individuals and groups can be

connected...Group affiliation provides unified strength among an identified group ..."
(Tomm, 1995, 169).

II Creating Epistemologies

The establishment and acceptance of women's studies programs arose as a result of new and existing feminist theories. In addition to creating a differentiated space within the mainstream, these theories have become the basis of alternative pedagogy. One study in particular has shaped much of the direction of this pedagogy. In her book, In a Different Voice, (1982) Carol Gilligan argues that traditional theories about human development and psychology are androcentric and exclude the realities and the development of the female lifecycle. Some of the theories she discusses have been based on separation; the ability of boys and men to separate from women and mothers to establish a separate identity, thus becoming autonomously driven (Gilligan, 1979, 431-36). According to Gilligan, traditional developmental theories have women placed in the lifecycle as caregivers, focusing on relationships and caretaking rather than separating and establishing themselves as individuated persons. These themes of androcentric knowledge construction, knowledge (especially science) as being objectively constructed, cognitively and methodologically hierarchical and unilinear in progression, are common to the feminist and postmodernist critique and pervade all their versions of mainstream scholarship not only those of ethics and psychology.

In her discussion of method and epistemology, Sandra Harding (1987) supports the notion of feminist epistemologies as alternatives to theories of knowledge and definitions of who can be the "knower."

Sociologists of knowledge characterize epistemologies as strategies for justifying beliefs: appeals to the authority of God, of custom and tradition, of "common sense," of observation, of reason, and of masculine authority... Feminists have argued that traditional epistemologies, whether intentionally or unintentionally, systematically exclude the possibility that women could be "knowers" or agents of knowledge; they claim that the voice of science is a masculine one; that history is from only the point of view of men (of the dominant race and class); that the subject of a traditional sociological sentence is always assumed to be a man (Harding, 1987, 3).

Gilligan's theory (not surprisingly as she was his student) is largely a response to Lawrence Kohlberg's work with respect to development and moral judgement. Kohlberg developed a theory of moral development that progresses through six levels. Four of the levels described by Kohlberg progress by normal developmental stages and are seen as universal. The movement from stage three to four is indicative of a development of adult reasoning and it is at this stage Kohlberg's research finds that women remain, in a sense, morally arrested. Level three of the stages is one that is concerned with maintaining bonds and personal relationships whereas the fourth level moves an individual in the area of an ethic of justice or morality based on the good of society rather than individuals (Kerber et al. 1986, 311).

Gilligan's explication of the "ethic of care" is an empirical response to the widely accepted theory of moral development put forth by her original mentor, who defines morality of justice as the understanding and application of abstract human rights. Rather than reject Kohlberg's theory that women failed to reach the mature, fully developed stage of morality that men reached, Gilligan disputes the universality of the theory's application. She suggests that in contrast to the formal,

abstract ethic of justice achieved by males in our society, females achieve an ethic of care; a more fluid, activity oriented stage of moral development, which is of equal standing to the male ethic of justice. Whereas Gilligan distinguishes this from the female ethic of care in terms of the "morality of care" viewed as the "morality of responsibility":

...the morality of rights differs from the morality of responsibility in its emphasis on separation rather than connection, in its consideration of the individual rather than the relationship as primary...(Gilligan 1982,19)

In contrast to the morality of responsibility, men are socialised to view moral dilemmas in terms of right or wrong, with the parties involved sacrificed to general precepts of justice. Gilligan's argument, like those of the postmodernists resoundingly rejects universals and absolutes of morality or justice. Rather they operate on the assumption of moral relativism.

Gilligan argues against Kohlberg's theory, maintaining that the nature of women's development and traditional socialisation leaves them with traits that may be seen as "deficient" in reference to moral development; but more than this, she argues that educational processes and the construction of knowledge itself fails to meet women's sense of self or their experience in culture that has been male-defined and male-created. Thus we seen how any epistemological revision for and about women must lead immediately, as Rousseau recognized, into the educational context and as consciousness raising. Mary Belenky, B. McVicker Clinchy, N. Rule Goldenberger, and Jill Mattuck pursue this idea when they assert:

In considering how to design an education appropriate for women suppose we were to begin by simply asking: What does a women know? Traditional courses do not begin there. They begin not with the students knowledge but

with the teachers knowledge. The courses are about the culture's, questions fished out of the "mainstream" of the disciplines. If the student is female, her questions may differ from the cultures questions, since women, paddling in the by waters of culture have had little to positing the questions or designing agendas of the discipline (Belenky et al. 1986, 198).

Women's socialisation as caregivers shapes their moral development which centres around relationships and responsibilities rather than abstract thoughts about the rights of the individual versus property rights [morality of rights Vs morality of responsibility]. Gilligan describes women's behaviour in terms of a web of relationships and connections. Her research and subsequent theories begin to lead into an ideal and ethic of care, which is intended to shape the way women relate to others. She bases her work on the purported discovery of "a different voice" or female way of thinking and doing things. Moral judgements are tied to feelings of empathy and compassion and are concerned with the resolution of real as opposed to hypothetical decisions (Gilligan 1982, 69). Decisions are relative and vary as understanding of the situation unfolds (Gilligan 1982, 73). Rousseau thought no less when he said of Sophie "Woman is a coquette by profession, but her coquetry varies with her aims; let these aims be in accordance with those of nature, and a woman will receive a fitting education" (Rousseau 1992, 329).

Given the significance of Kohlberg's psychological and ethical scholarship the response to Gilligan has been varied, ranging from the laudatory and sometimes uncritical, to the hostile, sceptical and defensive: neither are feminists in absolute agreement about its implications^{*}. Such contention is part and parcel of

• A body of scholarship has emerged which demonstrates a great anxiety about differences among feminists who fear its conservative (Rousseauian?) implications including Lorraine Code (1983), Michele Moody Adams (1991), and Susan Moller Okin (1989). Okin particularly cites Gilligan's

any social reform movement and given the radical claims behind feminist theories of knowledge we must expect more rather than less discussion around philosophies which are not only new but controversial. For example while Gilligan's original work was in some senses groundbreaking, feminist historian, Linda Kerber, finds it reminiscent of the past, even as far past as ancient Greece!

...where men were understood to realize themselves best in the public sector, the polis, and women in domesticity. Ancient tradition has long been reinforced by explicit socialization that arrogated public power to men and relegated women to domestic concerns, a socialization sometimes defended by argument from expediency, sometimes by argument from biology (Kerber, 1986, 306).

Gilligan maintains these sociological and biological differences between men and women, re-valuing those behaviours which were previously in a negative or deficient light.

From a methodological perspective, critics argue that her work lacks the quantitative data required to positively assert that the female voice differs so vastly from the male. "A claim that the two sexes speak in different voices amount to a claim that there are more women than men who think, feel, or behave in a given way. By simply quoting how some women feel is not enough proof. We need to know whether what is being said is distinctively female, or simply human. We believe that no researcher who makes assertions such as Gilligan's can escape the obligation to demonstrate a quantitative difference in the proportion of the two sexes who show the characteristic in question" (Kerber, 1986, 315).

influence over and relevance to the work of Jean Baker Miller (1986), Nancy Chodorow (1978), Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976), Jane Flax (1990), and Sara Ruddick (1989).

Nonetheless, controversial though they may be, Gilligan's theories presented a basic framework for understanding women's moral development and therefore had important implications with regard to their education. Moreover this framework bears a resemblance to that of Nel Noddings (1984) as both argue that care is a reciprocal relationship that must first be received as a child in order to be reproduced as an adult.

Noddings' exploration of caring and education as viewed through the language of ethics and morality moves away from the traditional philosophical approach of hierarchical logic and puts it in to the realm of relationships and helpfulness. This lends itself to a feminine conceptualisation of morality. The use of gender as a category or method of analysis to this point has served to valorise or emphasise the feminine side of gender and gender differences as opposed to male characteristics.

The primary meaning of this kind of difference is, varying according to discipline, that women have a different voice, a different muse, a different psychology, a different experience of love, work, family, and hope ... Psychologists and other theorists of the subjective argued a different female character structure and set of values (Gordon 1991, 93).

Noddings argues that caring is a dynamic and mutual relationship; "to care" is an intuitive and empathic response that underlies or has as its basis a sense of responsibility to others. Noddings describes different levels of caring ranging from intimate familial relationships to responsibilities that others have to strangers (Noddings 1984,17). The levels Noddings describes are not based on an hierarchical model that emphasizes the advantages or increased stature of one over the other. Like other feminists or feminist sympathizers she avoids

such a postulation given the ramifications contained in such an unequal relationship or distribution of power. According to Joan Wallach Scott, "(t)he history of feminist thought is a history of the refusal of the hierarchical construction of the relationship between male and female in specific contexts and an attempt to displace its operation" (Wallach Scott, 1986, 1066).

It is difficult not to be tempted into seeing Noddings' characteristics in some form of hierarchy, if only to acknowledge she implies a superior and less so state of being. For example, in Noddings' theory of stages or levels of development the highest of these would be characterised by the 'individual' who is most able to hear/empathise with another (Noddings 1984,34). "The receptive mode seems to be an essential component ... we must settle ourselves, clear our minds, reduce the racket around us in order to enter it" (Noddings 1984,34). To enter this mode, requires a certain amount of intellectual work in order to reflect and receive. Noddings maintains that this level is also characterised by the ability to think laterally rather than relying on traditional hierarchic analytical tools. She argues that a woman's "caring is the foundation of her morality" (Noddings 1984,42). The caring relationship established by women concentrates on co-operation rather than the establishment of rules.

When Nel Noddings discusses the caring relationship, an important element is in the attitude and the behavior of the cared-for. The attitude of the cared-for must be one of acceptance and receptivity- this makes for a mutual exchange and allows the cared-for to grow (Noddings 1984,69). Reciprocity is determined by the 'cared-for's ability to receive. Certain caring relationships have inherent inequalities

such as those between mother and child (which do not seem to present a problem) but, nonetheless, the cared-for is a subject. (She speaks of the carer as "she" and the receiver as "he" presumably as a sensitivity to language and gender rather than power and gender).

Noddings identifies two feelings that make morality universal and natural whereas David Hume contends that only one feeling is necessary and it is emotion that makes "morality an active virtue" (Noddings 1984,79). Instead Noddings suggests that "the sentiment of natural caring" is the first prerequisite to the virtue of morality, the second being an empathetic response to the subject which is the desire to recapture a most intense caring moments. The motivation for this second feeling seems somewhat selfish because it is there to make one's self feel good. In some situations the caring comes naturally, in others it is done because to do so is virtuous (Noddings 1984,86). An ethic of care is not built on the assumption of intrinsic goodness, but rather on a desire to recapture the feeling and memory of caring and being cared for.

It can be said that the aim of moral education is to teach people to be ethical. The aim of such an education would be the ethical ideal that involves relation and caring (Noddings 1984,174). Belenky et al. (1986) take these ideas several steps further in their exploration of the development of a women's epistemology in terms of the aims' relationship to knowledge and a gendered acquisition of such knowledge. These have been described as "positional pedagogies", (Maher and Tetreault, 1994). The notion is that this form of pedagogy has developed through a progressive method that seeks to include the

knowledge of the student and has as its basis the lived experiences of the students; a rather eclectic and interactive form of learning as opposed to the more traditional Socratic method described by Maher and Tetreault (1994).

... [courses that] directly addressed the idea that voice and experience fashion, and are fashioned by, theoretical frameworks, and that language is a key element in the process. Not incidentally, such classroom discourses also demonstrate that classrooms may be sites not only of the enactment of feminist pedagogies, but also of the development of feminist theory. In class discourse, positions are not always fixed, as the claims to identity sometimes seem to be, but rather relational. Openly positional classroom discourse represents an important arena in which a variety of complex relationships can be renegotiated and transformed (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 208).

The point of the previous discussion is in the implications for women's learning [and teaching]. If there is, indeed, not only a new scholarship suggesting that women learn differently but also that they actually have "different ways of knowing" then as Rousseau understood, "it follows that they ought not to have the same education" as men! Of course feminists reject that this implies they might have an inferior education, an education without intellectual rigour, an education that emphasises domestic economy, or even a uniformly sex-segregated educational experience. They have broadened Rousseau's parameters and repudiated his narrow strictures but have not overcome the problems imbedded in his original premise (Rooke, 1996).

These non-traditional epistemologies have changed the shape of disciplines other than education and philosophy (Smith, 1979 and 1990, 80-96; Millman and Kanter, 29-36; Kelly-Gadol, 1979, 15-28). Numerous scholars in women's studies argue that the purpose of women's studies is to give a "voice" to women and

develop a new epistemology that accommodates women's differences at the same time as minimising these as "essentialist" differences about women's nature (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 90-126). Thus the female experience has been transformed into a feminist epistemology (Fulton, 1993, 425).

While Nel Noddings and Carol Gilligan provided women's studies with alternative theories on ethical and moral behaviour and have contributed to what is known as "critical" or alternative pedagogy, Belenky et al., offer another form to the discussion in a thoughtful elaboration on the way women "see" knowledge and interpret their experience. Through a psychological study that consisted of some 135 women, the authors of Women's Ways of Knowing, (1984) concentrated on psychology because the discipline had frequently, although not uniformly, excluded female experience because of androcentric assumptions about research.

Belenky et al, also conclude that the way women view and know the world differs from the way men learn and develop knowledge. Much debate surrounds this claim especially around questions of gendering as a social construction imposed upon sexed bodies or those arguments of the philosophical "essentialists" who reject social construction in favour of more biological and "naturally" immutable characteristics based on one's sex (Fuss, 1989; Hunter College, 1983, 59-92; Wittig, 1992).

For example, the concept of difference between the sexes ontologically constitutes women into different/others. Men are not different, whites are not different, nor are the masters. But the blacks, as well as slaves, are. This ontological characteristic of difference between the sexes affects all the concepts which are part of the same conglomerate. But for us there is no such thing as being-woman or being-man. "Man" and "woman" are political concepts of opposition, and the copula which dialectically unites them is, at the same time, the one which abolishes them. It is the class

struggle between women and men which will abolish men and women. The concept of difference has nothing ontological about it (Wittig, 1992, 29).

With a methodology that was somewhat similar to that of Carol Gilligan's, a large number of women were interviewed about their understanding of the nature of knowledge and how they come to apprehend its significance in their own lives. Using the empirical data derived from this study Belenky and her associates have outlined five stages they believe best describes the landscape of a female epistemology. Moreover they suggest that the development of knowledge coincides with the development of voice- which is the ability for individuals to express their desires. Elaborating Virginia Woolf's well known analogy Winnie Tomm states: "Feminist consciousness of the desire for 'a space of one's own'... is central to the current reformulation of ethical theory, moral agency and political action agendas" (Tomm 1992,109).

An important element or tool of feminist research and epistemology is the notion of personal awareness. Sandra Harding's view on this topic is supported by Tomm (1992) who discusses the importance of self-knowing from the perspective of feminist ethics. Self-knowing is an important element in the development of autonomy and creates space for the self and others. Repeating the notion that knowledge is no longer dependent on objectivity. Tomm claims that,

...at the centre of knowledge are the heartfelt interests, attitudes, and values of the knower...The ideal of feminist epistemology is contextualized ways of knowing in which one knows through emotional and discursive connectedness to others (Tomm, 1992, 107).

This interaction with others is crucial to autonomy and in turn leads to moral agency, an essential element in effecting social change.

Feminist ethics seems to be the common denominator that describes the basis of many women's studies classes. The element that differentiates feminist ethics is the emphasis on gender and how certain activities affect women. Another of these elements is a critical analysis of power and its affect on relationships; paying particular attention to asymmetrical power relationships. Such relationships are often recognised and addressed in the feminist classroom and interaction among participants is negotiated in a manner that leads to more egalitarian relationships between students and instructors; the role of the instructor becomes one of facilitator in the learning experience. "Feminist ethics pays attention to the ways in which interpersonal interactions are often governed by asymmetrical power and how this impacts on women's lives. Feminist ethics, then, is centrally about the politics of interpersonal interaction" (Shogan 1993,440).

III Voice, Mastery, Authority and Positionality

In a Different Voice ascribes the quest for "voice" as crucial to the stages that follow. In this sense many others are in agreement and therefore consistently return to this theme just as they return to Gilligan's, Noddings and Belenky's work on a unique female ethic. While there are others such as Sara Ruddick, (1989) who elaborates on the ethics of "maternal thinking" these three pioneers stand out if we are to take into account the number of times they continue to be cited or are quoted in essays on feminist theory.

To this point I have merely alluded to the quest for "voice" as an important theme in feminist epistemology and feminist pedagogy which are seen together as a form of "praxis"; that is, they are conceptually and practically inseparable and always related in feminist theory. However, we can identify four aspects of this praxis as manifested in women's studies programs which may be identified as not only a form of temporal space but also a form of moral space. In short, women's knowledge itself is seen as a space constructed for and by women. The four themes which are located in the feminist praxis of women's studies teaching and curriculum and situated in the "lived-experiences" of teacher and student alike are voice, mastery, authority and positionality (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 15-24). I will briefly explain the nature and significance of these four themes.

The first of the four analytic themes is *mastery*. Unlike traditional uses of the term whereby an individual becomes, or is able to exhibit expertise over a given subject or area, Maher and Tetreault view *mastery* as a way of individual's taking control over their own learning and construction of knowledge. Learning in this manner is an active pursuit that relies on the participation of the student and the ability of the instructor/professor to give the student what they need (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 17). Part of the construction of *mastery* is the teacher or instructor's ability to know their student and understand what they know; for what they already know is going to effect what they are going to learn.

Attention to what different students want or need may mean a variety of approaches and effects. For example, a white student's reading of The Color Purple is different from that of a Black student, and poses the challenge of naming and beginning to unlearn racism in order to broaden and deepen her responses (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 17).

Maintaining the metaphor of *voice* in feminist theory and pedagogy, Maher and Tetreault (1994) argue it is the mixture of voices that come together in a classroom or less structured learning environment that helps to develop new forms of knowledge; this is the second theme used to analyze the behaviour and activity of the feminist classroom. Rather than finding a *voice* and developing the ability to express ones self, *voice* as used in this manner is best described as the activity being able to verbalize the expression of "one's desire". It is again an active pursuit where students "use relevant personal experiences to shape a narrative of the emerging self" (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 18). *Voice* also takes into account the voices of others, maintaining a dialogue guided by respect for 'others'. When the authors use the term *voice* to describe the capacity for self expression, it is important to note that the *voice* is *fashioned* rather than *found*. This indicates an action and linear progression or development of something that already exists.

The third analytic theme used in this feminist pedagogy is *authority*. According to Maher and Tetreault, *authority* in the feminist classroom does not belong solely to the professor or instructor, it is not about the dissemination of knowledge from an all-knowing master. It is once again an interactive process in which students take responsibility for learning where both teacher and student are engaged. How professors use their *authority* varies, "(h)owever, many of them share a sense of their *authority* as grounded in their own experience, in their own intellectual encounters with feminist theory or other topics that have personally engaged them, rather than exclusively in their representation of scholarly expertise" (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 20). A significant element in the notion of *authority* is

that in order to facilitate what Maher and Tetreault call "good teaching" teachers must give up much of their authority based assumption that students are autonomous individuals with knowledge and an agenda that includes some self-directed learning.

Positionality is a theme elaborated by Shulamit Reinharz and which was alluded to earlier in this chapter as part of the concept of self identification. *Positionality* places a great deal of importance on the construction of knowledge and is determined or rather "defined by gender, race, class, and other socially significant dimensions" (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 22). *Positionality* has a direct influence on epistemology and power relations and is sometimes referred to as coming to knowledge with a knowledge base derived from one's subject position. The subject positions of both the teacher and the student are important due to the effect they have on the value placed on experiences and information as well as relationships. "The diversity of the classroom environments we have studied has shown us that position more than any other single factor, influences the construction of knowledge, and that positional factors reflect relationships of power both within and outside the classroom itself" (Maher and Tetreault, 1994, 22).

The question many scholars not immersed in women's studies programs ask [often contentiously, sometimes curiously] is whether there *is* a feminist methodology which warrants separate studies and programs (women's "space" if you will) and what legitimates claims for a distinctive scholarship.

IV What is Feminist Research?

It is claimed that the establishment of the feminist and women's studies classroom has resulted in the creation of a distinct feminist methodology. Even without amplification if we take the findings in The Canadian Women's Studies Project it is generally agreed by respondents, who correlate "the notion of women's studies as a force that could revolutionize the very structures of knowledge" and is directly related to "what a feminist practice of study might be..." (Eichler, 1990, 41). The equation with theory and practice, method and action, is reiterated in various forms throughout the literature.

In Harding's (1987) discussion of what constitutes a feminist "method" she agrees that some of these approaches are not distinctively feminist at all but rather just a different approach to doing research. Certainly "progressive education" comes from a similar perspective. John Dewey, for example, wrote reams about the democratization of the classroom, non-hierarchical and non-authoritarian pedagogies, voice and authority. His "learning by doing" challenged forms of mastery. Despite this denial she asserts that the methods themselves are distinguished from other approaches solely because they are grounded on a feminist perspective or analysis.

My own preference is to argue that the designation "feminist" can apply to men who satisfy whatever standards women must satisfy to earn the label. To maximally increase our understanding, research must satisfy [the] three criteria [discussed earlier]. The issue here is not so much on of right to claim a label as it is of the prerequisites for producing less partial and distorted descriptions, explanations and understandings (Harding, 1987, 12).

The first of the three criteria mentioned by Harding is that gender be viewed as a social construct. The second elemental criteria is that researchers identify the subject position from which they are viewing the material as this has implicit effects on the material at hand. In doing this, we arrive at the third point which requires that one articulate or acknowledge her biases and subjectivity. Gone is the belief of absolute objectivity to be replaced by an argument that everything is viewed from a position of subjectivity, which places a value judgement on everything (Harding 1987,12).

Feminist research or analysis is not one that merely adds women to an already established canon by including studies of women who have had outstanding careers or historical significance [known as "female worthies in history"]; or women who have been victimized by patriarchal structures (Harding, 1987, 9). To clarify this point, perhaps a brief detour might be made to clarify the differences between "women's history" and "feminist history" which may help shed light on the other areas of women's studies (Rooke, 1985; Rooke and Schnell, 1989). Although an important element and an area that has had an impact as a revisionist view of history, women's history could hardly be viewed as part of a continuum that has resulted in feminist history. Women's history as Harding explains it is characterised by traditional historical methodology which emphasizes the written records of the dominant and ruling middle-class focusing specifically on women's domestic role. "...women historians, when studying women, often emphasize their private lives, thereby confirming stereotypical views of male traditionalists that sexuality, reproduction and domesticity is what matters when considering women" (Rooke

and Schnell, 1989, 60). Those who break free of such constraints as imposed by this rule are seen as exceptions and somehow abnormal. Women's history recognized from the start that what we call compensatory history-women as worthies- is not enough. This was not to be the history of exceptional women, although they too need to be restored to their rightful places (Kelly-Gadol, 1987).

Departing from where women's history left off and including women's participation in the public sphere of the political/social world in addition to their activities in the private sphere, a feminist historian seeks to emphasize the inter-relatedness of the public/private spheres. Women's roles in public life are necessarily effected by gender roles, expectations and either adherence to or denial of private sphere expectations. A number of women have become successful in public roles as a result of the subversion of specific gender roles and identity expectations.

We have noted that women's history has emphasized the private domain and domestic sphere in a woman-centred approach in contrast to the androcentric biases of traditional history and historical biography (with regard to male subjects and phallogocentric scholars). Feminist biography of necessity emphasizes its subject's public world... (Rooke and Schnell, 1989, 62).

Additionally Kelly-Gadol has argued that feminist history along with feminist scholarship in other areas has helped to focus on women's status in society; she uses status broadly to describe women's roles and function. As a consequence of this, feminist history has served to present social movements and historical changes in a light that reflects the impact events have had on women's realities. "What feminist historiography has done is to unsettle such accepted evaluations of historical periods. It has disabused us of the notion that their history is the same as

the history of men and that significant turning points in history have had the same impact for one sex as for the other" (Kelly-Gadol, 1987, 17). Gertrude Himmelfarb describes it in the following manner:

Feminist history is consciously and implacably opposed not only to traditional history but to earlier varieties of women's history. It belittles the kind of women's history that focuses on events and periods. It even rejects the idea of "mainstreaming" women's history into general history—the "add-women-and-stir-recipe," as it is now called. The new feminist history, unlike the old women's history, calls for rewriting and "reconceptualizing" of all of history from a "consciously feminist stance" and "feminist perspective," so that it may be "seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define"—the eyes and values of the feminist historian rather than of the women who are the ostensible subjects of history. And these values, many feminists believe, are inimical not only to the substance of traditional (and traditional women's) history, but to its methodology and mode of discourse: the logic, reason, and coherence that are themselves expressive of a patriarchal ideology (Himmelfarb, 1994, 152).

This, I believe makes the distinctions between women's history and feminist history perfectly clear.

While feminist theory is not the first to critique social class, a sophisticated deconstruction of gender has been developed by feminist theory. Sandra Harding discusses feminist methodology as it relates to research in the social sciences. While her theory may not be absolute, it establishes three features that describe or identify feminist research. The first feature or characteristic is the reliance or willingness to explore other experiences and use them to formulate a generate new knowledge or theoretical perspectives (Harding, 1987). Secondly, Harding looks at research in terms of what questions are asked and what is viewed as a problem. She argues that traditional research has been done from the perspective of a "logic of discovery", a path that has narrowly described the issues that need to be

explored. Feminist research defines problems from the perspective of women's experiences which consequently leads to changes in epistemology. The third feature used for a feminist analysis is an emphasis on plurality. There is a realization that people's experiences are multi-faceted. There is an acknowledgement there is no single experience that defines a social problem or social experience. While there is no single experience, a gendered experience is configured by the intersections of gender, race, class, disability, age, mental status, and sexual orientation, among other social categories.

V Gender as an Analytical Tool

Gender and its analysis is a recent area of scholarship and has flourished as a reputable study in all the social sciences: it is perhaps the singular unifying factor of feminist theory. Moreover it has been used to discuss other disciplines such as science, law, anthropology, medicine, nursing and economics. Examples of such scholarship would include works by women such as Rosabeth Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation (1977); Catharine A. MacKinnon, Toward a Feminist Theory of the State (1989); and work by economist Marilyn Waring, If Women Counted (1988). When one surveys Shulamit Reinharz, Feminist Methods in Social Research (1992) it is striking how a permeation principle* has operated in feminist research and that where there are feminist scholars in a given field there will be feminist research.

Historian, Joan Wallach Scott argues that "gender is part of the attempt by contemporary feminists to stake claim to a certain definitional ground, to insist on

* This term is being used to describe the fact that in certain instances, feminist theory has begun to integrate itself into mainstream disciplines through the work of feminist scholars.

the inadequacy of existing bodies of theory for explaining persistent inequalities between men and women "(Scott, 1986, 1066). Scott's definition of gender is multi-faceted one that describes gender in terms that previous understandings of a social construction imposed on sexed bodies in relation to one another.

...gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relations of power. Changes in the organization of social relationships always correspond to changes in representations of power, but the direction of change is not necessarily one way (Scott, 1986, 1067).

Scott (1986) argues that there are four inter-related elements in the definition of gender. The first element she discusses are the symbols used to represent gender. Second, these symbols become normalized and subsequently a dominant ideology becomes established which then describes behaviour and is seen as "truth." The third element is the expansion of gender in relation to institutions outside of kinship. "We need a broader view that includes not only kinship but also... the labour market...education...and the polity"(Scott, 1986, 1068). The fourth element that helps to define gender as a category is an examination of the various specific forms of its construction.

In feminist methodology, as a rule, gender is seen as a social construct and starting point from which to study other problems. In addition to the inclusion of gender as the foundation of feminist analysis, the researcher is required to identify her/his subject position. Such identification requires personal awareness - awareness of the impact of the self (referred to as positionality in previous sections of this chapter), of beliefs and attitudes and in turn how these impact on the subject matter. Following directly on the identifying of subject position comes the necessity

of introducing personal bias and subjectivity. Harding states that "beliefs and behaviours of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the claims advanced in the results of research" (Harding 1987,9). The assumption that the objective observer is an unbiased one belies the fact that individuals are made up of beliefs and attitudes that attribute values to situations, events and objects. Many researchers in the social sciences, humanities and philosophy, do not see these claims as either new or radical.

VI The Women's Studies Classroom

Women scholars argue that feminist epistemology can be conceptualised as unique in that it now constitutes a critical and pedagogical theory separate from mainstream work on other fields of study. Margaret Anderson (1987) states that women's culture has been silenced and trivialised whereas men's culture discussed seriously and studied in mainstream curricula. While she is scarcely alone in this observation nonetheless she questions how the truth might look if women's ways of knowing were taken into account in the construction of knowledge. Consequently female scholars have worked to "build knowledge and a curriculum in which women are agents of knowledge in which women transform the male-centred curriculum of traditional institutions" (Anderson 1987,224). The inclusion of women in curriculum and knowledge is not just "an add and stir" phenomenon but one that redefines knowledge by using the lived- experiences of women as the basis for new knowledge (Pearson and Rooke, 1993, 414-428). Some would argue that by transforming the curriculum, women's role in society would subsequently be transformed, no longer relegated to the status of minority citizen with limited access

to power and resources. Given that Anderson sees women's studies as having the ability to change the general curriculum and not merely tokenise other parts of it, an argument might be as Anderson believes, that women's studies is the radical offspring of 1960's feminism.

Jean Bethke Elshtain, ten years before Anderson, also examined the feminist classroom. In "The Social Relations of the Classroom: A Moral and Political Perspective" (1976) Elshtain argues that the teacher of the feminist classroom has an obligation to teach critical theory; and that the feminist teacher is not one who advocates therapeutic teaching techniques whose sole function it seems is to make students feel good and improve their "self-esteem", but one who encourages reflective thought.

Much of the continuing debate over radical teaching focuses on issues of pedagogical method or "technique." Non-traditional teachers ask themselves: Is it possible to break down "artificial" and destructive relationships of dominance and submission within my classroom? Can I assist students in an effort to cast off passive modes they have internalized as a result of years of socialization into deference towards authority? Shall I attempt to reorder dynamics in my classroom in order to undo the damage done to students within hierarchically structured classes? Can I engender and sustain a sense of "community" within my classroom? These imperatives are felt by all radical teachers but most particularly by those who identify themselves as feminists; indeed, "hierarchical", so-called "traditional", male-dominant classrooms are frequently castigated as constituent features of a repudiated male approach to teaching and learning, a mode linked to blustering and authoritarian displays of power (Elshtain, 1976, 95).

Elshtain argues a case for feminism as a radical critical theory and assumes that it is as such a critical foundation for collective, individual and social change "The feminist teacher... must affirm the necessity for theory as the fundamental, irreducible ground of any social liberation" (Elshtain 1976, 107). The feminist

teacher encourages and uses the pedagogical mode or tactic of persuasion referred to as a dialectic that assumes that one is capable of re-thinking "conventional concepts within a critical framework" (Elshtain 1976, 108). Rather than providing an alternative to this mandate, Elshtain, who is a political philosopher focuses on the critical aspect of feminism's intent to deconstruct traditional and dominant theoretical perspectives. The feminist classroom provides temporal space in women's studies programs and moral space in a climate that facilitates negotiable discussion.

Magda Lewis also argues that a feminist pedagogy would be a radical one given its emphasis on transformative epistemologies; and a critical awareness of systemic discrimination leading to social action (Lewis 1990, 469). With Elshtain, Lewis sees "theory" as the keystone to building the feminist classroom. Critical pedagogy, according to Lewis, emphasises resistance and critiques non-inclusive curriculum (Lewis, 1990). Lewis also views the traditional forms of education of women as violating women's autonomy in their promotion of a gender-system that compels women to overcome institutional barriers [systemic discrimination] which do not reflect women's lives, subjectivities, or needs. Feminist critical theory is one that critiques "patriarchy" as a site of oppression. Thus a primary purpose of feminist teaching is to create that space that enables women to overcome such barriers by providing them with the theoretical tool to deconstruct their experiences and to feel confident as they critique normative values of patriarchal societies. In social action, reconstruction takes place.

The feminist classroom has a variety of images, most predominantly it is an egalitarian environment in which the authoritarian style is absent. Kathryn Pauly Morgan sees the power that one assumes as an instructor as conflictual to feminist ethics (Morgan 1993). Moreover the role of the teacher is to provide a model of ethical and moral behaviour which students can emulate but in some ways encouraging students to become autonomous individuals conflicts with the role-modelling method as a presumptive practice. This is due to a contradictory assumption that the students internalise the attitudes or beliefs of the feminist instructor prior to developing their own consciousness. It is obvious at this point that risks of indoctrination might militate against developing autonomy and one's own consciousness. Images of Miss Jean Brodie as a fiction, or Professor Jane Gallop as reality are conjured up (Talbot, 1994). However in the final analysis, the same criteria need be applied to this educational problem as to any other. There is after all, substantial literature on indoctrination and education to direct us in these matters (Pearson and Rooke, 1993).

Conclusion

The establishment of women's studies as a program of study within the traditional academic structure was meant to give a space and form in which feminist scholars and students could focus on knowledge based upon the experiences of women. This in turn has helped to give voice the to a pedagogy and ethics grounded on a feminist epistemology and radical social critique that is inclusive of social constructions other than gender such as class, race, and sexual orientation.

Finally in this chapter I have referred to the classroom as moral, epistemological and "temporal" space. This space has potent symbolic meaning and psychological power for women. It is invested with meaning for women students and feminist scholars as alike. It is the "home" that nurtures their work and women's studies. It is, as poet Emily Dickinson said, the place that represents "eternal difference/where the meanings are" (Stimpson, 1988, xi).

CHAPTER THREE

Transformation, Not Tokenism

"Separatism is a politically motivated strategy for empowering women and undermining patriarchy" (Hawthorne 1991, 312).

To this point I have set the parameters for the ensuing argument in this and the next chapters as to whether the time has arrived when women's studies courses should be mainstreamed (or "integrated") into the common curriculum at universities. In order to prepare the reader for the debate for and against retaining women's studies as separate programs; I will recapitulate the case that has been established thus far.

I have elaborated a brief history of women's studies and emphasised the connections between Rousseau's and Wollstonecraft's views of female education and those involved in the debate over domestic science and between same sex segregation and co-education which engaged educators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter two discussed the initial establishment of Women's Centres in the 1960's. These centres gave birth to the more academically conceptualised phenomenon of women's studies courses, departments and programs in the following two decades in North America. This chapter also established the major philosophical contributions shaping this experience by describing premises that informed a more cohesive development of programs by developing models and epistemologies for feminist research, scholarship, and pedagogies. To do this I have used the metaphor of "space" in its various forms.

Indeed it is pertinent to ask at this point whether such courses are "ready" to be integrated; that is do they have sufficient content and theory; moreover, whether the pool of predominantly female students that enrol in women's studies courses are "ready" for such an event? Without a solid preparation and immersion which is part of the pedagogical model posited by a segregated women's studies experience are these female students intellectually equipped to stand against a strong tendency to be assimilated into the mainstream or has the content itself been assimilated and watered down ("add women and stir") rather than having its content transform the present curriculum?

There have emerged other equally persuasive voices taking a contrary position about these forms of space, and who return to the above questions with various degrees of doubt. These voices, no less feminist in their beliefs, argue for what might loosely be called "disciplinarity." Although most interested parties hold to a greater diversity than this somewhat crude polarity of view suggests we might summarise one side of the argument as insisting on maintaining the integrity of separate women's studies departments, courses and programs, and the other side insisting that the scholarship, findings, research, and individual scholars, produced out of the separate model should be incorporated into the mainstream model of university departments and courses. It is difficult to determine which is the more radical position given the ultimate goals of each viewpoint but the next two chapters will speak to both positions.

This chapter discusses the case for the maintenance of women's studies as a separate program. Three basic arguments can be detected in the literature.

These focus on (1) the development of a body of knowledge about gender; (2) the viewpoint or perspective one takes when undertaking feminist research; and (3) autonomy or the ability of women's studies to be self-directed and regulated within an academic structure such as the university.

The following chapter will be descriptive. I will paraphrase and re-iterate the arguments and positions made by feminist scholars from a variety of sources. These are not necessarily my own positions. As much as possible I will avoid passing judgements on their validity or provide at this point any counter-arguments even when these seem obvious. Neither will I offer my own viewpoint in the chapter that follows this one, which consists of an overview of the counter-arguments presented by other feminists or scholars who disagree with those presented in this chapter.

I Developing a Body of Knowledge:

We have seen that women's studies was first introduced into the liberal arts curriculum during the 1960's. Long since considered by some to be the academic arm of the women's movement, the intention has been to transform mainstream scholarship and build a body of knowledge based on the history and culture of women. The unique structure of women's studies programs, unlike more traditional disciplines, is one that functions across campuses by utilising networks of faculty representing a wide range of disciplines, areas of study, administrative and professional functions by cross-referencing courses and exploiting a diversity of theoretical and pedagogical approaches. Moreover this

approach provides a large population from which to recruit students and scholars.

(a) Transformative Learning

Florence Howe best summarises the transformational goal of women's studies when she states:

Thus from the first, there were two conscious goals in women's studies: to develop a body of scholarship and a new curriculum about women and the issue of gender; and to use this knowledge to transform the "mainstream" curriculum turning it into what it has never been, a co-educational one (Howe, 1982, 15).

What does Howe mean in her last remark about "co-education" given the century or so of a North American commitment to this premise? It seems that she is suggesting that up to this point it is not enough to allow women entrance into university merely by educating them into the ways of 'men', but education must now also teach the ways of 'women', drawing from the scholarship discussed in chapter two that uses the concept of gender as a point of departure.

Having said this, it appears that for the most part the focus of women's studies has been to develop a body of knowledge that comes out of the experiences of the intellectually neglected half of the world's population. Howe refers to this new body of knowledge not only as revolutionary but also as one with a power to transform that is both disciplinary and inter-disciplinary (Howe 1982). This transformative character can be seen at the most rudimentary level of structure itself. Thus a spatial ecology facilitates an epistemological transformation which in turn promotes new pedagogical principles.

The knowledge feminism attempts to transform is the objective empiricism that dates back to ancient Greece and re-articulated by Rene Descartes in the seventeenth century (Bordo and Jagger 1989; Stanley and Wise 1990). This has been referred to as the Cartesian framework and can be determined by its six epistemological assumptions that have a dichotomous or dualistic nature. The first of these basic assumptions is based on the ideal of objectivity and promotes the notion that reality is objective in nature and is not affected by how it is viewed. The second - objectivism - assumes that "the structure or nature of reality in principle is accessible to human understanding or knowledge" (Bordo and Jagger, 1989). This is followed by the third assumption that knowing happens in the individual mind. The fourth assumption is referred to as the rational bias and assumes that knowledge is gained through reason and can be verified through empirical evidence. The fifth assumption of the Cartesian framework is based upon the principle of universalism, the notion that we all know the same way regardless of social construction of class, gender and culture. Foundationalism is the final assumption and is based upon the premise that "recommended methods typically endeavor to show how systematic knowledge may be inferred validly from certain or indubitable premises" (Bordo and Jagger, 1989, 3). These assumptions have been questioned and repudiated by those who argue in favour of "women's ways of knowing" (Noddings, Gilligan, Belenky, Ruddick and Tomm).

While not the only theoretical framework to critique the precepts of Cartesian thought- one thinks immediately of the various strands of

deconstructionism and postmodernism - feminist theory is the only one that offers a critique based on the androcentric world-view of its meta-narrative. Thus it even rejects the humanism that has been part of Western thought since the Renaissance through the Enlightenment.

Cartesian approaches assume the unproblematic generalizability of knowledge from its context of production (conventionally called a 'context of discovery') to a variety of contexts of use...theory of knowledge, one irrevocably rooted in women's concrete and diverse practical and everyday experiences of oppressions; and it insists that these analytic knowledges are reflexive, indexical and local; they are epistemologically tied to their context of production and are ontologically grounded (Stanley and Wise, 1993, 1992).

Yet the conviction remains strong that women's studies must be explicitly political, consciously an academic arm of women's liberation, and actively part of a larger social movement that envisions the transformation of society. Unlike other academic pursuits, it must not separate theory from practice (Boxer, 1982, 676).

When originally conceived, it was believed that women's studies would fulfil its goal of providing an inclusive education that would overcome what is considered to be a lack of adequate scholarship based on gender and 'women's issues'. Two decades have proven this optimism false and a growing realisation of the inadequacies of some methods and areas of research is observable. This has subsequently led to the realisation or belief

that only radical reconstruction would suffice. In terms of a scheme developed by Catharine Stimpson, the deconstruction of error and the reconstruction of (philosophical and scientific) reality from a feminist perspective have now led to a third stage of women's studies scholarship, the construction of general theories (Boxer, 1982, 683).

The impact of feminist theory and knowledge has been described in terms similar to those used by Thomas Kuhn who talks about changes in scientific

theories as paradigm shifts. "Whenever women seek to apply theories of human behaviour based on men's lives to their own experience, they confront what Kuhn terms the "anomalies" that then lead to the challenge to and ultimately the reversal of "paradigms" in "normal science" (Boxer, 1982, 684). Rather than wasting effort to transform the academy, feminist scholars' time and resources would be better utilised by focusing on the development of new communities and subsequent paradigms that would constitute a revolution.

The notion of women's studies as a discipline with its own methodologies is, of course, dependent upon whether or not women's studies can say it has its own theoretical framework and standpoint through which that it can train its students.

Howe agrees when she argues that one of the functions of women's studies programs is to prepare fresh perspectives to old scholarship and to contribute a new scholarship that will regenerate or "transform" established canons. Women's studies trains scholars into these new approaches. Arguing that integrating or mainstreaming women's studies is often conceived of as "the add women and stir" and becomes the act of tokenism. As Howe notes, in practice [e.g., adding a lecture on women's' suffrage] may mean a single lecture in a course of forty lectures; or the ubiquitous week on suffrage in the American history course; or the addition of a women writer or two to the traditional literature course" demonstrates such tokenism (Howe, 1982, 17). This is hardly transformational and will have little impact on changing the curriculum despite the fact that feminist research appears to be making an impact on academic

disciplines at conferences or through publishing. Women's studies is better understood as a springboard which provides the initial platform for transformational education and research to be done. It is believed that the most effective way for this to occur is from an interdisciplinary approach. Women's studies is seen as a necessary path to providing serious and scholarly research on and about women because it concentrates time and effort on studies that might otherwise be neglected, ignored, or assimilated under the emphasis on a former and traditional development of knowledge which has minimised the study of gender and women (Howe, 1982, 18).

(b) Teaching as a Political Act

While it may seem anomalous to non-feminists to include two sub-sections (a) Transformative Learning and (b) Teaching as a Political Act under the heading "Developing a Body of Knowledge" this is less so for scholars working in women's studies for whom it is a truism that bodies of knowledge – the corpus of feminist scholarship in this case – must entail pedagogical practices. The praxis of women's studies after all is the synthesis of theory and practice. Feminism is the theory and pedagogy the practice; or, separatism is the rhetoric and women's studies the reality.

Howe poses several questions about women's scholarship, among which is the fundamental question of whether one must be a "feminist" or have a political agenda permeating the teaching of individual women's studies courses or the program as a whole. Assuming the position of 'non-objectivity', Howe asserts "[I]t is, indeed, impossible to avoid a perspective from whence we teach

or organise our scholarly projects" (Howe, 1982, 20). She also says that all teaching is in fact "a political act" whereby groups or individuals transmit values and ideas onto another group:

In the broadest context of that word, teaching is a political act: some person is choosing, for whatever reasons, to teach a set of values, ideas, assumptions, and pieces of information, and in so doing, to omit other values, ideas, assumptions, and pieces of information. If all those choices form a pattern excluding half the human race, that is a political act one can hardly help noticing. To omit women entirely makes one kind of political statement; to include women as a target for humor makes another. To include women with seriousness and vision, and with some attention to the perspective of women as a hitherto subordinate group is simply another kind of political act that controls destinies, gives some persons hope for a particular kind of future, and deprives others even of ordinary expectations for work and achievement (Howe, 1984, 283).

She continues elsewhere:

...it is more dangerous either to ignore or support patriarchal assumptions that govern our society than to challenge them openly through the feminist lens, and to ask that questions be re-opened, that the female experience be viewed alongside the male (Howe, 1982, 20).

(c) The Corpus of Feminist Scholarship

A further point that strengthens the case for separate studies and one which Deborah Rosenfeldt (1984) raises when she observes the vast amount of scholarship that has been generated by feminists or those seeking to incorporate knowledge on women into established canons. She asks "has proliferated so enormously in the past decade that the new body of knowledge and theory on women and gender *cannot* be fully assimilated into traditional disciplines and departments" (Rosenfeldt, 1984, 170)? In short Rosenfeldt suggests that women's studies represents a unique and distinctive corpus, that its quantity and quality is so rich that traditional programs have neither the time, expertise or

space to transmit it in their courses and such scholarship does not fit into traditional canons. Rosenfeldt insists that the exploration of areas such as sexual orientation (lesbian lives) and relationships between mothers and daughters (referred to by some scholars as maternal genealogy) are less likely to become important to traditional scholars. While mainstream scholars might engage in such research there is no guarantee that they will. Moreover, the variety of texts and research conclusions generated by such areas would be hard pressed to find an audience when competing with other areas of scholarship which are career and professionally oriented. The interdisciplinary nature of women's studies is beneficial by virtue of the abundance and variety of resources that can be accessed. One example Rosenfeldt cites concern studies on 'women and violence'. Should such courses be taught in a sociology department, the structure of the course would be bound by traditional methods and materials⁶; whereas in women's studies

the materials, subject matter, and modes of inquiry to these courses are not bound to those of any of the traditional disciplines and departments. In Women's studies, the instructor is free to assign ...major feminist texts relevant to the specific topic, regardless of the 'disciplinary' origin of these texts or the departmental affiliations of their authors (Rosenfeldt, 1984, 170).

As students advance in women's studies they become more knowledgeable about feminist theorists whose texts on feminist epistemology are the backbone to their classes. Feminist scholars consider it an essential background to critical analysis and action research. The growing corpus of feminist scholarship contributes in turn to question about how best this new knowledge can be transmitted? How can it cross-fertilize the bodies of

knowledge in the various disciplines? How and on what principles can and should it be organised so that it is not seen as esoteric but, rather, as dynamic and transformational? Women's studies has always seen its theoretical basis and intellectual accretions in a pedagogical light and as a political act.

II Gender as an Analytical Tool

Women's studies as a program or discipline argues that the integration of scholarship on and about women is not sufficiently met by "the add women and stir" approach; it can hardly be described as a method for it is too haphazard and inchoate. This might apply to the solution to gender equity questions as well. It is not sufficient to place women in key positions or appointments and merely assume their presence will transform curriculum or research. Patricia Rooke (1989) has argued this point from a more critical perspective when she observes, that women are as entitled to such key positions as men but this crude equity must not be confused with feminist principles. Neither should feminists make more of such appointments than is warranted.

When Sandra Coyner discusses women's studies, she argues that in order for feminist scholarship or the study of women to be integrated into more traditional areas of study, the implications of gender as a construct would have to become part and parcel of scholarship. The addition of women to established bodies of research should not be misunderstood either as aberrant female behaviour or the accomplishments of "women worthies", but must be understood in terms of women's agency based on achievements that are defined and accomplished through or as a result of their gender roles and behaviours. This

would mean a radical realignment of premises which would not only change the meanings, but necessarily change the answers too.

Though gender systems do not usually relegate women to positions of utter degradation, they create a division between the sexes such that women's experience and interpretations of their world can differ significantly from men's. Women's worlds are not without their own forms of power and value, but women are excluded from and deprived of the power and value defined in men's sphere (Coyner, 1986, 91).

As we have read previously, in chapter two, Joan Wallach Scott makes a similar case when she insists that one cannot effectively study the reciprocal relations between men and women, analysing these relations and their implications, unless through the lens of gender as a social construction. "Most recently...feminists have in a more literal and serious vein begun to use "gender" as a way of referring to the social organization of the relationship between the sexes" (Wallach Scott, 1986, 1053). This new view and the relatively recent body of scholarship of gender studies has altered and transformed the ways in which scholars previously understood the world of men and women in relation to each other. Coyner basically agrees with Scott in saying that

The distinctive topic of women's studies is the gender system, defined and explicated by means of concepts that are evolving, in part, from our interactions with inadequate androcentric conceptualisations of knowledge ...Women's studies assumes that gender is a system in contemporary society and probably all societies. This concept goes well beyond previous conceptualisations of gender as a role or set of traits that a person could choose as an individual to adopt or not (Coyner 1986,91).

In short, as a separate entity within the academic structure, women's studies is not just about women but it provides a distinctive approach that in

addition to its focus on women may be seen as a different way of viewing and organising information and knowledge: thus, a "transformational" strategy as well as a spatial ecology.

(a) Gender and Separate Spheres

Catharine Stimpson discusses what she believes is a conflict between contending positions on how the relationship between men and women should be viewed. "...when we look at the world and we try to conceptualize the relationship of men's lives and women's lives, how should we think?" (Stimpson 1984, 16). In part as an answer to this query the trope of separate spheres as an area of study emerged in the 1970's. The trope establishes how the spatial ecology of gender arrangements has created and perpetuated social roles and functions for men and women: one is public and productive and the other is private and primarily reproductive. The study of family organisation contributes insight into the cultural reproduction of these social roles and functions emphasising socialisation and gendering mechanisms that shape the lives of women.

Sociology always studied family organisation in its various aspects including kinship systems, child rearing, cross-cultural familial arrangements, marriage customs, demographic patterns, economic and political liaisons and contributions, but women's studies asks different questions which opens new avenues of inquiry and research (Stimpson, 1984; Stanley and Wise 1993). "Objective" social science methodology and research was turned around by its practitioners when they applied the "subject position" and "participant observer"

methodologies which examined the impact on individual family members, especially women and children, rather than societal impacts often using the voices of their subjects as data. The psycho-dynamics of gender relations within family life, rarely documented in psychological studies were explored as a gendered experience as distinct from either socialization processes or psychological constructs, premises other than those conventions and assumptions that informed the direction of previous scholarship.

... and there was family history done from the point of view of women's studies. One of the things that distinguished them was that in women's studies, so often, the consensus is that the family was a place that harmed women and children; the family was not a neutral institution. It could be good but it could be bad. Here, for example, we had those vitally important incest studies and studies of spouse abuse, and wife battering, and what happens to women if they do marry wife batterers (Stimpson, 1984, 17).

(b) Gender and Inclusivity

If gender is a basic premise from which scholarship in women's studies is based; inclusivity is another. While gender is an essential to such work so too are analytical constructs and categories such as race, class, and sexual orientation. The focus on gender as an area of study has led to calls for and the subsequent development of two new disciplines; cultural studies and gender studies. Fear and accusations of marginalisation and ghettoisation have become an obstacle to the promotion of feminist studies as a separate entity and have subsequently led to a trend towards gender studies (Klein, 1991). Renate Klein argues, however, that it is through this move "toward the more neutral program that women will once again become invisible." In this Klein disagrees with the position taken by Pearson and Rooke (1993) who take the more

cautious (even timid?) approach for fear of alienating otherwise well intentioned colleagues and students. The more neutral vision Pearson and Rooke propose is precisely another version of masculine construction of knowledge that feminists have been fighting against for centuries...'it expresses woman in relation to man-as determined by the concept of gender which relies on dichotomies'...gender studies thus reinforces the necessity of studying women and men in relation to one another: a much narrower aim than WS's claim to study the whole world from a feminist perspective" (Klein, 1991, 129). Klein argues that gender studies is another form of mainstream scholarship where the focus is not feminist and is removed from women to men and continues the trend of the "masculine construction of knowledge"(Klein, 1991, 129).

Liz Stanley (1990) also comments on the fear of marginalisation, which has popularized a rise in the study of gender. She insists that the goal of feminist scholarship is revolutionary and is therefore most effective when, in fact, practised from the margins rather than being assimilated into the mainstream.

Also it is worth considering that revolution is best practised precisely from the margins, rather than from the mainstream where the temptations of assimilation, of keeping one's head down and 'getting on', are so much greater. 'Mainstreams' in disciplines are best seen as 'malestreams' and feminists should subject even half-desires to join them to careful scrutiny (Stanley, 1990, 44).

The study of gender is a version of feminism that has been de-politicised and one which has lost its revolutionary impetus accommodating instead established notions how to maintain the status-quo rather than looking critically at issues and circumstances that directly effect the lives of women (Stanley 1990).

(c) Developing the Curriculum

As it has been outlined previously, the purpose behind women's studies is to balance the curriculum; this is the position that such an influential spokesperson as Stimpson promotes. Stimpson expands upon six conditions that influences the development of a women's studies program. The first one, upon which the second subsists, is the movement of women other than those of the working classes into the work force since World War II. The significance of this has to do with the increase for the need of advanced education for career and employment purposes. Historically speaking, working class women have always been a part of the labour force, however it is only over the past 30-40 years that middle-class women have entered paid employment in large numbers thus creating a new demographic in university enrolment and for career preparation.

The second condition concerns the effect of post-secondary students that have either returned to or entered university or tertiary institutions for the first time; women with different needs bringing a different perspective to education, one that shaped a case for "inclusive education". Feminists argue that women's studies programs are in a better position and can be structured more flexibly than traditional courses to accommodate these women's special needs as adults with a wealth of non-academic "experience."

A third condition was the moderation of those culturally and religiously defined gender roles that had proven effective barriers, economically and socio-politically, to middle class women. Stimpson acknowledges an intellectual

climate that emerged in the 1960's as a precursor to women's radicalism with the crises of authority in universities which

tends to value scepticism over tradition, that tends to value [forms of] empiricism and secularism. This intellectual climate opened doors to radical scholarship of which feminism [portends]... Thomas Kuhn and Peter Berger -whose views were not feminist- proposed arguments for shifting paradigms and the lack of absolutes in the matter of knowledge and its development, thus paving the way for post-modernist, feminist and neo-marxist models among others (Stimpson, 1984,12).

The final two inter-connected conditions concern the decrease in certain forms of discrimination toward women and other minorities brought on by the 1960's civil rights movement in the U.S.A, and transplanted elsewhere, and student protests in western society at large, both of which challenged the structures of academic institutions (Stimpson 1984).

(d) Method and Gender

Stimpson continues her discussion by analysing the interdisciplinary method of developing and creating knowledge by emphasising that ideally the flexibility and borrowing from parent disciplines enables women's studies to contribute to a more balanced and integrated curriculum. "[W]orking with ideas from within the academy and outside, we have what I have often called the fourfold development of our overarching concepts, the kind of ideas that I hope would be integrated into the curriculum as a whole" (Stimpson, 1984, 14). What is the fourfold development? The first principle that provides the basis for a new scholarship on women is the inclusion of "women" as a social construct as well as a demographic entity, a legitimate and necessary field of study. She refines this by using the overarching concept of gender as an analytical construct by and

relates this theoretical approach to the practices of sex-role socialisation. When this praxis is viewed from the vantage of hindsight at the latter part of the twentieth century it is scarcely radical. However, no matter how we may think today this relatively innocuous move met with much resistance.

In the first decade of the growth of women's studies programs many mainstream scholars objected to gender as an alternative analytical construct, believing women were more appropriately studied as a part of social class or race, which had been social categories for serious study for some decades. Marxist scholars in particular believed that their dialectical method and emphasis on praxis was adequate for studies of women as part of broader social movements. Women needed to be radicalised and sensitised to the problems of false-consciousness certainly, but not as part of a counter-culture based on differences, but on solidarity with other groups whose oppression was seen as coming from the same source (i.e., capitalists). Yet Marxists had not gained much ground even among working class women because they neither addressed women's issues nor recognised women were additionally oppressed as women *per se* in their social class or race categories. Here is a powerful incentive for retaining separate women's studies programs.

Stimpson continues with the case for a fourfold development of overarching concepts by stressing, as did Sandra Coyner earlier, that sexism is a pervasive norm within our culture.

The idea of sexism was, of course, simply that sexual difference had led to sexual stratification and what we had was institutionalised discrimination against women, structures than made women secondary,

marginal, second class, and comparatively (and the word comparatively is important) powerless (Stimpson, 1984, 15).

Therefore sexism has emerged as a critical overarching concept to feminist discourse and feminist analysis. The third overarching concept in Stimpson's fourfold development is that of conflict within the constructs posited and between feminists and women themselves. The ongoing and current debate over "social" versus "essential" differences among women is a good example of this conflict in addition to the more obvious one of race, marital status and sexual orientation. The major debate over essentialism questions whether gender and sex are socially constructed or whether certain characteristics and behaviours are innate and biological. Another base for conflict, of course comes from the various ideological positions of feminist theory (separatist lesbian, marxist, liberal, eco feminism, prolife feminism, maternal feminism, feminist spirituality etc.). The final point Stimpson brings up in the development of women's studies is its contribution to the study of sexual difference, not just a look at sex and gender, but rather a critical look at the nature of sexual difference and the difference it makes (Stimpson, 1984).

It must be stressed that many issues important to the women's movement are not without conflict concerning direction, role, and function. One of the present debates deals with questions such as what is the role of women's studies in this movement; and should women's studies maintain the function of critical pedagogy for transformation. Moreover, should women's studies work for another kind of transformation by becoming a discipline in itself by creating its own body of knowledge (Sheridan, 1991). If the latter is desirable- and those

who want to see women's studies continue separately by resisting mainstream policies believe it is- more to the point is the question, how is a "discipline" created and legitimated within the academy?

Lowe and Benston argue that women's studies and feminist scholarship is a natural extension of the women's movement, others such as Renate Klein (1991) refer to it as the educational arm of the women's movement, and is therefore committed to social change through education and transformation.

Feminist scholarship has taken on not simply the task of developing an understanding of the world that takes women into account. It also has as its explicit goal the search for origins of women's oppression and the formulation of effective strategies for change. Women's studies was developed primarily as one of these strategies for change (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 48).

This then is a further reason for retaining women's studies programs. Only those programs, informed as they are by feminist theory, are able to effect this praxis between theory and social action by emphasising women's issues and by focusing on a female perspective. Many women's studies scholars fear that this direction will be lost or this particular focus watered down. Only a women's studies program, it is argued, can be open to the variety of approaches and different "feminist perspectives" which address social change from a variety of methodological, epistemological and ideological stances. Indeed only women's studies can clarify differences between the various and numerous "feminisms" because it is within its mandate to do so. Only it has the time to painstakingly develop these nuances and subtleties over a several year program and throughout a variety of courses which approach these distinctions in an integrated manner as exemplified by a feminist based curricula.

In her article on mainstreaming women's studies, Sandra Coyner argues that the biggest threat to its integrity is found in integration as an ultimate goal. One of the advantages of women's studies as a separate program is that it has provided women, students, scholars and administrators, with a certain degree of autonomy. Such freedom means that scholars and administrators can focus their attention and energy on "teaching and scholarship about women and can define that focus in their own terms as long as they stay within the broad confines of academe in general" (Coyner, 1986, 87). Inasmuch as they are able to do this, they are not required to defend a feminist content. This is not to suggest that such a position is not defensible or that feminists are unable to defend it. Rather it implies that energy, time and effort are better concentrated in other battles where, at least, some common assumptions prevail.

III The Question of Assimilation

Another of Coyner's arguments is that mainstreaming/integration would lead to the co-option of women and feminist scholars into already established networks. One recalls lines from Audre Lorde's poem at this point, "The Master's tools / can never dismantle the Master's house". These sentiments disconcert non-feminists, anti-feminists, some moderate feminists and many men because of their revolutionary, if not hostile, stance. But women's studies maintains by its very posture and presence that epistemological, structural, political and philosophical traditions must be radicalized - that is what transformative learning is about. Such traditions must be dismantled in order to be transformed into inclusive and gyno-centrally sympathetic systems.

Merit and academic recognition are given according to prescribed criteria that might not accord with criteria being developed for a new kind of program and scholarship. Some argue that this suggests inferior scholarship or that women's studies wants academic recognition without reaching agreed upon "standards of excellence" but this is not so. The counter-argument prevails that only those immersed in an area of study- the "experts" in the field- should judge their peers' work. This is no less the case for traditional scholarship. Coyner sees this objection as fundamentally flawed. Yet critics continue that women's studies as a separate entity has become ghettoized- the same way as the "pink collar ghetto" which pertains to women's activities outside of the home (Coyner, 1986, 87). It seems that energy to promote women's studies is best used by increasing the visibility of feminist scholarship which is often not considered as mainstream research. By seeking the approval of what is conceived of as a male-created and male-approved academy, the emphasis is on gaining the approval of outsiders. This contrasts with the argument, that integration would help to transform a curriculum with a narrowly androcentric and phallogocentric vision of knowledge (Coyner 1986, 87). In the ecology of separate physical space, women/feminist scholars engage in research and dialogue without the expectation of conforming to prescribed androcentric standards. Thus they feel more able to introduce an alternative- that is, gynocentric- view of knowledge and standards of evaluating its rigor.

No group of feminists in academe nor contribution to the growing corpus of feminist scholarship makes a stronger case for gynocentric epistemologies,

ontologies, and pedagogies than the lesbian separatists who see "difference" as the impetus behind their very beings. Their perspective has great influence over present theorizing in women's studies and it would be remiss to dismiss theirs as a minority view or as an extremist kind of radicalism. Their presence is formidable and their lesbian perspective often persuasive. Their critiques resonate with Lorde's sentiments about the master's tools not dismantling the master's house.

IV Radical Separatism

There has emerged a growing body of feminist scholarship as well as a strong cadre of women's studies advocates that promulgate the most radical kind of separatist agenda – lesbian separatism- who argue that knowledge, the curriculum, and academic institutions are thoroughly "heterosexualized". If there are to be inroads into an ideological agenda which prevents mainstream acceptance of lesbianism, women's studies must be retained if for no other reason than that the traditional departmental structures are unlikely to either comprehend the theoretical implications of such separatism let alone the so-called "problematic of the body" or the social construction of human sexuality.

Many women have taken to heart the arguments made by scholars such as Mary Daly (1978), Monique Wittig (1993), and Adrienne Rich (1983). Terms such as "subversion" and "transgression" are applied passionately to this radical separatism. One who best summarises this position is Sarah Hoagland; she discusses separatism as viable political strategy and as a means of disrupting an already established system to promote, change or "render it meaningless"

(Hoagland 1989, 55). Such separatism perceives a more cautious approach as not actively engaging with the enemy but of conspiring and tacit collusion.

Hoagland argues that

(s)eparatism is, first, a way of pulling back from the existing conceptual framework, noting its patterns, and understanding their function regardless of the mythology espoused within the framework. For example, within the framework it is said that women don't resist male domination. However, by stepping out of the framework, we can detect quite another story. Separatism is a matter of deconstructing and revaluing existing perceptions and judgements (Hoagland 1989, 60).

Viewed from this perspective, withdrawal becomes engagement by allowing different perspectives which undermine heterosexual patterns and values (Hoagland 1989).

Susan Hawthorne speaks of separation as the deliberate, transgressive and conscious withdrawal from an oppressive system in contrast to forms of segregation, a means of separation that controls an oppressed group. "Both are powerful political devices. The distinction is in terms of who is initiating the separation and for what purpose. From the point of view of the oppressed, separation is voluntary, segregation is involuntary" (Hawthorne, 1991, 313).

Marilyn Frye (1993) argues that separation from various institutions and relationships are defined, controlled by and maintain male privilege therefore separatism is about power and a group's position within systems, economic and political. Separation occurs in varying degrees and numerous forms that range from work and personal relationships, avoidance or withdrawal from suspect activities and the rejection of systems and individuals. However the most radical

of all is lesbian separatism which is an absolute rejection of male privilege and heterosexuality. Another axiom might be used here. Lesbian separatists believe that feminism is the theory and lesbianism is the practice. Whether this is to be a temporary measure or permanent impasse remains unclear but the logic of the feminist critique is coolly argued by proponents such as Monique Wittig:

...What the analysis accomplishes on the level of ideas, practice makes actual at the level of facts: by its very existence, lesbian society destroys artificial (social) fact constituting women as a "natural group." A lesbian society pragmatically reveals that the division from men of which women have been the object is a political one and shows that we have been ideologically rebuilt into a "natural group" (Wittig, 1993, 103).

Frye notes that the result of these forms of separation can result in hostility, violence, and economic sanctions (Frye 1993). Acts of lesbian and feminist separatism are about the control of power,

(w)hen women separate (withdraw, breakout, regroup, transcend, shove aside, step outside, migrate, say no), we are simultaneously controlling access and defining. We are doubly insubordinate, since neither of these is permitted. And access and definition are fundamental ingredients in the alchemy of power, so we are doubly, and radically, insubordinate (Frye 1993, 96).

What distinguishes liberal or conservative feminist notions of separatism from radical lesbian separatism is the critique of heterosexual privilege that is the fodder of lesbian separatists. This is based on the assumption that neither heterosexuality nor woman is a natural construct and "compulsory" heterosexuality is ultimately damaging (Rich 1983).

The lie of compulsory female heterosexuality today afflicts not just feminist scholarship, but every profession, every reference work, every curriculum, every organizing attempt, every relationship or conversation over which it hovers. It creates, specifically, a profound falseness, hypocrisy, and hysteria in the heterosexual dialogue, for every heterosexual relationship is lived in the queasy strobe light of that lie (Rich, 1983, 165).

Heterosexuality has long been considered the norm, the standard by which all is considered, and history illustrates that women have a vested interest in maintaining heterosexual relationships. Adrienne Rich asserts that women are constrained by heterosexuality and that identification with women is a source of energy and power; the denial of lesbian relationships and female associations has led to an "incalculable loss" and has meant women were unable to unite in an attempt to

change the social relation of the sexes...(t)he lie of compulsory heterosexuality today afflicts not just feminist scholarship, but every profession, every reference work, every curriculum, every organizing attempt, every relationship or conversation over which it hovers (Rich, 1983, 165).

We will see in the following chapter how such subversive separatist assertions have provoked a backlash and "counter-revolution" not only among males, non-feminists, non-lesbians, but otherwise sympathetic radical feminists. Lesbian separatism, contains, by far, the most contentious presumptions of wresting power from privileged groups – both female and male- and is regarded as the most transgressive and disruptive form of feminist discourse. It is yet to be seen if the fears of the critics are valid or to be realized. Nonetheless the intellectual power of the lesbian discourse must be dealt with. We can see in Wittig's resounding claim that

(t)he perennality of the sexes and the perennality of slaves and masters proceed from the same belief. And as there are no slaves without masters, there are no women without men....

The category of sex is the political category that founds society as heterosexual. As such it does not concern being relationships (for women

and men are the result of relationships), although the two aspects are always confused when they are discussed. The category of sex is the one that rules as "natural" the relation that is at the base of (heterosexual) society and through which half of the population, women, are "heterosexualized"... (Wittig, 1992,44).

V Standpoint

While "gender" remains the lynchpin to women's studies, with its intersections of race, class and sexual orientation, women's studies argues that women's studies as an area of study represents a particular standpoint. As discussed in Chapter Two, feminist research is done from a particular point of view, which reverses any artificial notion of "objectivity". I have already quoted Florence Howe's position on this with regard to the political nature of teaching acts.

(a) Subject Position

Among the first rules of feminist methodology is that the researcher and enquirer articulate her subject position. It is through this lens or viewpoint that information is filtered and knowledge generated. This emphasis on subjectivity and standpoint represents a sharp divergence from the more conventional and established disciplines. It constitutes a further reason why advocates of women's studies programs argue so vociferously for maintaining their separateness. Women's studies represents a major distinctiveness in its understanding of knowledge itself and this understanding is embryonic to this point. Much work needs to be done in a relatively affirmative environment.

The feminist standpoint is a departure from supposed neutral positions; standpoint determines the perspective from which one views a situation, it is

contextually situated and does not necessarily describe the methodology. Feminist approaches to knowledge adhere to a practice that moves theorists away from general and universal knowledge claims to specific ones that take into consideration differences based on sex, gender, sexual orientation race and class. "...the ontological experiences of 'women' are multiply characterized by difference, by different overlapping contextually grounded material experiences of oppression" (Stanley, 1990, 30). Objectivity is inherently related to subjectivity and assumes that one does not allow subject position to cloud method or research. Feminist scholars have long since argued that research is automatically subject to the bias and perspective of the ideology of the researcher and dominant ruling class: "...'science' claims are founded not only on notions of the generalizability and transferability of knowledge, but also its non-contamination by influences drawn from either the context of its 'discovery'/production or the social location and characteristics of those who produce it" (Stanley and Wise, 1993, 1991). When one is doing research, objectivity has another definition which affects the meaning or outcome. Relying on the dualistic nature of objectivism and postivism, objectivity has also come to mean that a work has not been tainted by emotion, as that is what previous definitions of subjectivity have come to mean.

As a discipline or area of study "(g)ender is at the core of feminist research processes" (Joyappa and Martin, 1996, 6). Again it is difficult, if not impossible to move away from the notion that gender is a key element in the research of feminist scholars. Much of the feminist scholarship that has been

developed has been done so by women in traditional disciplines; women's studies has been an avenue for them to communicate with one another, to work together on new ideas and to teach. Women's studies as a "vehicle for using feminist knowledge was then a natural result of the skills that many of the founding women's studies feminists already had" (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 51).

(b) Methodology

It follows from the emphasis on subject position that this would shape methodology. Feminist methodologies, and those most visible in women's studies classrooms even to the casual observer, are expressive; that is they encourage narrative, reflection, self-discovery, process-thought, and experiential evidences [rather than a dependence on "hard data" or positivistic analyses]. Standpoint therefore, is manifested in these methodologies. Any education student realizes these are not the monopoly of women studies nor that women's studies invented them. The history of education bears testimony to such approaches in John Dewey's discovery learning, Pestalozzi's synthesis of hand, heart, and mind, or A.S. Neil's "Summerhill" experiment, to name only a few. The contributions, however, of women's studies is that like adult education philosophies generally, experiential knowledge is utilized in post-secondary settings and the clientele, therefore, is not compelled as in public schooling, but consists of mature and autonomous learners.

Methodology is central to the conflict over integration versus separation. Those who argue about the priority of feminist methodology and emphasise its importance to women's studies programs view it as women focused, action

oriented, interactive and contextual (Rosenfeldt, 1984). "[M]uch of the knowledge and ideas about women that has emerged in the past decade is beginning to order itself into new groupings and categories, an order that has increasingly little reference to other knowledge and ideas about women and gender" (Rosenfeldt, 1984, 171). Rosenfeldt uses Sandra Coyner's description of a discipline, which she argues is "defined neither by subject matter alone nor by methodology alone, but by the interactions between a particular community of scholars and its shared paradigms" (Rosenfeldt, 1984, 172). Since 1984, what Rosenfeldt had predicted to be a natural and evolutionary aspect of the women's studies program has become reality (disciplinarity). As a body of knowledge, women's studies has developed some of its own frameworks, standpoints, and methodologies and created a body of students who view subjects through an interdisciplinary feminist perspective.

It seems clear to me that only in autonomous Women's Studies programs, which house the emerging discipline of Women's Studies, can 'ideas about sex and gender' be legitimated as the essential subject of our study, the subject at the heart of our critical discourse with one another, just as ideas about race and their effect on the experiences of people of color is the essential subject of Ethnic Studies" (Rosenfeldt, 1984, 173).

One of the strengths that lies behind women's studies as a discipline is the fact that theorists are involved in an ongoing process of development in a feminist epistemology and discourse as well as

a knowledge of its central questions and controversies, an awareness of resonance among texts, rather than an acquaintance with a book here, an article there, however carefully selected for its importance or power or representativeness. We arrive at such knowledge not simply by reading the relevant scholarship but by participating in the work of a community of scholars at conferences and conventions, at informal gatherings, in study groups, at our own institutions, including the community based institutions

and organisations so essential to the vitality and authenticity of work both in Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies (Rosenfeldt, 1984, 173).

While one can argue a general case for keeping women's studies autonomous and segregated it seems that empirical arguments remain strong. Because the empirical case is weighed heavily by the proliferation of the kind of scholarship we have been discussing especially that which examines the lives and histories of women it seems obvious – to me at least – that such scholarship has flourished because it was nurtured in separate programs and departments. Adrienne Rich best acknowledges this proliferation in scholarship,

.. that in the struggle to discover women and her buried or misread history, feminists are doing two things: questioning and reexploring the past, and demanding a humanisation of intellectual interests and public measures in the present. In the course of this work, lost sources of knowledge and of spiritual vitality are being recovered, while familiar texts are receiving fresh critical appraisal, and the whole process is powered by a shift in perspective far more extraordinary and influential than the shift from theology to humanism of the European Renaissance" (Rich 1975, 16).

Rich, therefore, insists upon retaining the autonomy of women's studies not only for this reason but because she happens to agree that a commitment to women's standpoint is the prime mover to such productivity.

Lowe and Benston emphasise the importance of continuing to generate scholarship. With the increased emphasis on mainstreaming, there is an increased emphasis on teaching, and with this comes a decrease in scholarship. "The emphasis of the integration model is on teaching, and this will likely be at the expense of scholarly activity" thereby decreasing the ability to provide an alternative vision. (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 57). Following from this is the

importance of maintaining connections with community groups and activities, which can only be maintained by autonomous programs. Given the institutional pressures and academic standards of mainstream programs, feminist scholarship will become distorted and marred by the same values that transformative epistemologies seek to overcome. The final point Lowe and Benston discuss is increased circulation of feminist scholarship. They do not come up with the definitive answer as to how to do this but outline the necessity of becoming involved in not only the production of knowledge but the circulation of it as well emphasising the different types of media (Lowe and Benston, 1991).

(c) Standpoint and Ethics

As an example of how standpoint can vary, let us look particularly at feminist ethics. "Feminist ethics deal specifically with moral questions such as: how can we resolve moral conflicts, both personal and social in feminist ways? What are the ethical ramifications of human relationships? And how can feminist principles be lived? Discussions of these and many other questions are part of the inquiry called feminist ethics" (Cole and Coultrap-McQuin, 1992, 1). We have seen in the preceding chapter how Nel Noddings (1990) presents us with an ethic from the standpoint of women. Within the theoretical framework of feminism there are a variety of standpoints. Noddings points out that traditionally the area of philosophy of ethics is thought to be universal and not considered to be gendered (1990). However when one looks at the works of philosophers such as Kant and Nietzsche it can not be said that they include the experience of women or that the consequences of their development – a gendered reality- are

necessarily part of an androcentric philosophical position. Their theories and cases exclude women and base ethical and moral behaviour exclusively on the activities of men, thus seemingly denying that women's activities operate from principles that guide rational thought; Kant in particular separates women's acts in relation to people as loving acts and men's as moral acts. "For Kant, acts done out of love do not qualify as moral acts. Those committed out of a conscious sense of obedience to principle are moral acts. Feelings and emotions are not to be trusted" (Noddings 1990, 162). Gilligan, of course, dismantles the androcentric ethic and points to a male ethic of justice and rights in contrast to a female ethic of caring. The second point Noddings makes is that there is no one "standpoint of women", particularly given the differences in women's lives. "Using such an expression as "the standpoint of women" risks an error similar to that in standard philosophy – a claim for universality that is patently false" (Noddings 1990, 167).

To this point, much of the theory generated by the notion of a feminist ethic has been referred to as an ethic of care. Theories such as these have been created based on women's traditional activities as caregivers and are based on relationships where women's principle occupation is in relation to others, providing care and nurturance to those who require it. Amongst feminist scholars, there is conflict about how such theories affect women given that they are entrenched in women's traditional activities. Noddings responds to this by stating that "(o)ne does not have to embrace the activities uncritically to take the standpoint of women, because female views arise from both participation in and

resistance to these activities" (Noddings 1990,168). Feminists are still struggling with the challenge of reconciling their demands for justice symbolized in the "rights talk" male model of rationality with their insistence on the ethic of care predominating their discourse. For example one such contradiction is apparent in women's recourse to rights in the broader polity whether these be abortion rights or gay rights and employment equity programs. The judicial system is expected to extend such rights through traditional judicial models and feminists are among the first to protest injustices based on theories emanating from a male created legal system that supposedly represents phallocratic visions of the good society. They are, however, not unaware of the contradictions that persist and one might predict further lively debate given the still embryonic nature of feminist philosophy compared to centuries of classical, Enlightenment and Modernist philosophical thought.

VI Autonomy, Equality, and Collaboration

It has been demonstrated that separation is a major issue in the women's studies debate and one of its leading proponents is Susan Hawthorne. She discusses separatism on a number of levels which embraces the educational, political, cultural, and social environments. She describes separatism in terms of women oriented activities such as consciousness-raising, political action and study groups, participating in women-only social activities, employment, and the lesbian continuum. The latter term embraces a range of experiences from women centred or oriented dialogue to varied living engagements in same-sex relationships.

...it is important to recognize that separatism is a strategy engaged in by every feminist. It is a fundamental element of all feminist philosophy. The crucial factor in a separatist philosophy is that women do not need men, and that this may be displayed in any [of a number of] ways. We, as women, can show that we are capable of being self-sufficient, whether it be in the political, emotional, physical, cultural or spiritual sphere (Hawthorne, 1991, 313).

The claim that "women do not need men" has been central to the ongoing critique of both feminism and women's studies despite the fact that there are no women as gendered beings without men as gendered beings, or as Kerber (1988) makes explicit the roles of gender are nothing if not reciprocal. This claim is perceived as threatening established academic norms and a thousand years or so of Western cultural history. It is this claim, which has facilitated much of the more lively debates about integration and mainstreaming as we shall see in the following chapter. We have also seen, in the previous section that such a claim grounds the most threatening of feminist thought; that of radical lesbian feminism. Echoing the arguments of Sandra Coyner, Marilyn Boxer presents an argument for the maintenance of women's studies that is historically based in two areas already discussed in chapter one: women's education and home economics. With its emphasis on critical pedagogy and epistemology, women's studies has recently been viewed (despite controversy) as the academic arm of the women's movement or women's liberation. Boxer is adamant that women's studies be/is explicitly political and that it remain motivated to transform society (Boxer 1982, 676).

No area is more crucial for social change place than the matter of women and equity. This is why Leslie Wolfe insists that women's studies is the

academic arm of a social reform movement that promotes the equality of women. Wolfe argues that one of the essential elements of the women's movement has come to be women's studies as a site where a distinctive group and gender are the proscribed areas of study with the intention of "establish[ing] political equity for women" inside and outside the academy (Wolfe, 1986, 287).

Given the challenge that has been set forth by women's studies- to "unearth the lost history and culture of women and a questioning scepticism to challenge and transform the traditional canon" (Wolfe, 1986, 287)- the scholarship of women's studies has by necessity had to have an activist base and subsequently been required to be intensely "interdisciplinary and collaborative." This is most effectively done through an independent body which will evaluate scholarship using different criteria. Collaborative research, except in the sciences and to a lesser extent the social sciences, is not the norm at university where the independent scholar - the myth of "the free floating individual"- has been rewarded and encouraged in his or her individual endeavours. Even the merit and increment system has been customarily based on this model. Feminists on the other hand tend to work collaboratively [hence the numerous texts that consist of chapters, sometimes disparate and sometimes more unified].

Moreover, women's studies is an interdisciplinary model that, despite the fearmongering of critics does not argue for the wholesale elimination of traditional canons of scholarship. No reasonable feminist advocates a wholesale dumping on the canon from Plato to Shakespeare to the present understanding fully this

knowledge has shaped much of our culture and worldview. However all feminists acknowledge that in this worldview women have been silenced or rendered either as invisible or as passive victims and those who are not victims have been presented to us as female worthies whose lives are not easily emulated by ordinary women in ordinary circumstances that constrain them. Even when not absent, few have been presented as artists, musicians or scientists (Wolfe, 1986). Feminist scholarship attempts to reinterpret the past by recovering, reclaiming, or discovering the contributions women have made. Even in scholarship, equality -that is fairness to women's contribution - is a priority. In this respect historians who interpret the past through a feminist lens, or even those who write a more narrative version of women's history and sociologists with their keen interest in human organization have contributed a great deal to this interdisciplinarity through fidelity to their disciplines. Their work is incorporated and synthesised into women's studies programs as part of a more complete picture of women's experiences, which is organized by feminist theory.

Despite some of the differences inherent within the various branches of feminism, certain overarching feminist principles can be identified within the basic structure of women's studies programs. Given its emphasis on, and sensitivity to oppression in its many forms, women's studies and feminist scholarship has grown out of the conviction that attention to concepts such as connection and equality assist in understanding how social action is to be organised and maintained. Consequently, women's studies has been shaped by

the notion of a non-linear and egalitarian forms of social organisation which is reflected in the way collaborative research is conducted.

Feminism has also given women's studies a strong collectivist tendency because of the feminist conviction that individual development and strength depends on support from a community. Most important, perhaps, is the influence of that part of feminist theory which deals with the interaction between the individual and social context (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 49).

Collaborative work seems the best model to illustrate equality in the research enterprise. Consequently it seems reasonable that an autonomous program is necessarily the most effective way to fulfil this mandate, where interactions among colleagues and students are not governed by the same principles or guidelines that control the activities in traditional areas of the academy. Therefore the study of different feminisms seem best facilitated in an autonomous unit committed to this enterprise. The argument, of course, does not stop there. For example Lowe and Benston illustrate this point by demonstrating how liberal feminists seek opportunities to compete within a system as it exists and believe that given the opportunity women will succeed just as men do. It is not systemic discrimination that bars women from engaging in the market place or lack of access to opportunities but personal deficiencies and gendered socialization. Affirmative action and balancing the curriculum are some of the goals of the liberal arm of women's studies (Lowe and Benston, 1991; Klein 1991). If this were to be the primary position of feminist academics there would be little objection. On the other hand there would be no women's studies programs.

In contrast to this position, on the opposite end of the feminist spectrum, if you will, radical feminists argue that oppression is indeed systemic and based upon the patriarchal structure of society that has defined women's role based upon gender in a Rousseauian imperative which perpetrates a division of labour that denies women access to power. The gradualist approach does not satisfy the urgency of the problems of inequity.

This branch of feminism sees equality for women within the present system as impossible and calls for a radical restructuring of society, involving the elimination of patriarchy and along with it all hierarchical structures (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 50).

If this analysis is true then another form of separatism follows – one that promotes an "essential" nature of women which creates a culture of its own. "In women's studies the analysis given by radical feminism has provided an important framework for much of feminist scholarship, while the existence of a separate women's culture has helped create a sense of community" (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 50). The prime motivation of this community is to realize equality for women and further equity programs for disenfranchised and marginalized groups in the broader context.

Marxist and socialist feminists, who view women's oppression as related to economic structures and/or institutions also advocate a radical restructuring of society in order to make any changes. Lowe and Benston conclude that while women's status may differ within various societies it is tied into the economic and social structures. "A particular contribution to women's studies has been an analysis of the university as a social institution and its function as an agent of social control" (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 51). Lowe and Benston further the

integration versus separation debate by bringing to the forefront the interconnection between the need for autonomy and the principles of equality. They point out that an autonomous entity such as women's studies is in a position to critique the very structures of which it is part and yet separate from. This is a case of the "outsider" within who alone can expose "(t)he degree to which the university is embedded in the overall social structure and the importance of its social functions" (Lowe and Benston, 1991, 55).

The university as an economic and social entity serves norms of scholarship as well as vested interests in the present structure thus helping to maintain the status-quo. It is likely that should the female voice become integrated into the mainstream it will not be viewed as a truly legitimate one given that it is in such conflict with both established norms of scholarship and social traditions. They go on to argue that the scholarship most tolerable to mainstream or traditional areas is that developed by liberal feminists, which lacks the punch needed to force a revolution, or major "paradigmatic shift" in forms of knowledge, to promote any sort of radical change in the university let alone the society at large (Lowe and Benston 1991).

VII The Permeation Principle

Although Lowe and Benston have outlined a strategy for transformation that does not emphasize integration and they argue that mainstreaming may not be the most effective use of feminist scholarship, the existence of an established program is in itself a significant factor in having feminist scholarship introduced

into the mainstream (Lowe and Benston 1991). One might describe this as the "permeation principle".

It is not hard to see this principle in operation in most contemporary mainstream courses if not in competing courses being offered across the campus. No self respecting young scholar, for example, would offer courses in say, sociology, without including feminist theory. A cursory glance at course outlines across the campus reveals units on gender, feminism, or women, whether they come out of philosophy departments, international centres on development, political science, or literature. The last chapter of this study will illustrate this by describing the state of women's scholarship at the University of Alberta as a representative case. Neither can one suppose this university is alone in these efforts.

Feminist discourse permeates the mainstream and has regenerated many of the traditional disciplines. Much of feminist research has been appropriated and even assimilated, which bears testimony to its rigor and legitimacy despite anti-feminist suspicion. This point is particularly significant for faculties of education which train teachers and administrators who will either enter the public, separate, or private school systems, or join government departments of education which generate curricula. It is of no less importance to professors of education who will continue to transmit old orthodoxies without the scholarship that transforms their courses. Feminist instructors throughout the university, no less than women's studies instructors, want to raise the consciousness of their students first, but, following in the steps of this project, to educate the general

public and their university colleagues as well. Transformative learning is neutered if it does not change society's attitudes. If gender studies, feminist perspectives, new historical knowledge, new interpretations in English, science or any of the school disciplines, do not shape public schooling their mission will have failed.

VIII Power and Empowerment

To educate women or not to educate has been an ongoing debate that has had in certain instances been about access to power, and power in relation to men. For the last several centuries arguments were ongoing as to whether or not education was for personal development and fulfilment or whether it was to generate social change. The either/or dichotomy is essentially an artificial one. As discussed in an earlier chapter, Florence Howe follows the course set by and between Rousseau and Wollstonecraft regarding women's true nature and the purpose of education. Additionally, Howe discusses power as the control exercised

by one person or group over others. Whether the controlling person is a husband, a political leader, a school principal, a department chairman, or a classroom teacher, the exercise of power is typically elitist, hierarchical, authoritarian, and manipulatively dependent on reward and punishment (Howe, 1975, 134).

Traditionally, women have been seen to have had a considerable amount of power as "the hand that rocks the cradle" or "the power behind the throne". From the Reformation on women have assumed greater psychological power as the locus of the nuclear family at the same time as they lost considerable economic, political, and public power (Rooke, 1996). Since the nineteenth

century individual women came together in groups and attempted to utilise what power they had to make changes based upon strategies developed by abolitionists, suffragists, and social reformers. Their goal was not to overthrow the rule of men but to improve society and stake out their place in democratic institutions by seeking inclusion. From these social reformers emerged a rhetoric that embraced both the belief in education as power [for social change] and for empowerment [at the personal level]. Thus the collective and the individual are not separated. Women's studies programs continues to support and continue this synthesis.

As an extension of the consciousness-raising purposes of education, women's studies looks to educate and create knowledge based on "the social reality of particular lives." This is contrary to traditional methods of study that takes as its standard the majority or norm and organises theory and principles based upon this. This consciousness-raising approach with the intention of promoting or creating social change/ educating for change stands in contrast to the established norm of education.

Organizing a process and curriculum called women's studies challenges traditional 'bodies of knowledge' not only by replacing them (at least for a time), but more significantly by attempting to disestablish their authority. Consciousness about one's particular life and experience is the primary knowledge one needs not only to begin to investigate 'bodies of knowledge,' but to establish them in the first place"(Howe, 1975, 151).

Howe posits that there are three tasks women's studies needs to accomplish. The first task is the creation of women's studies courses and an environment where women are able to engage in learning and the development of knowledge aimed at raising the consciousness of others. The second builds

on this and is again a discussion of creating knowledge and providing critical scholarship by and about women. The third task Howe sees as being necessary for women's studies to accomplish is

dependent on the first two, is more elusive: to change the male-centered college curriculum, with regard not only to women generally, but to women of various classes and races. ...To change the curriculum would be to change those teaching it: not only to affect their consciousness about the need for such changes, but to add to their knowledge (Howe, 1975, 159).

For Howe and the scholars cited in this chapter – and I suspect for many women's studies students, past and present- such social change cannot be effected conscientiously in a mainstreamed climate. Power and empowerment are best effected in the present arrangements that support women's studies as separate programs, departments, or faculties.

IX Role Models

No chapter on defending women's studies as a separate entity within the academy would be complete without some reference to "role modeling." One of the most succinct essays on this is by Bernice Fisher, "Wandering in the Wilderness: The Search for Women Role Models" (1988). Despite the fact that Fisher's article was published a decade ago, it is a piece of work that evolved over time. Though at one point she was unable to see the merits of a role model, this changed to a view of the role model relationship as a consensual moral one based upon mutual respect and responsibility. Although her discussion is somewhat vulgarised by summary, the following seems to paraphrase it best. The role model is not an individual who merely provides support, direction or advice- a role often taken on or given to teachers. With a role model "we engage

them in regularized, consensual relationship that can involve mutual obligations and responsibilities" (Fisher, 1988, 253).

Fisher offers two criticisms at the outset that had been formed by earlier views of role models or women heroes. She bases her first criticism on the potential idealization of the myths of heroism, believing the call for role models sets women up to believe that all one needs to succeed in democratic society is a role model. Secondly she argues that the notion of role models sets a dangerous precedent from the perspective of feminist theory whereby one looks uncritically at the behaviour of another and is engaged in an uncritical hierarchical relationship. She later reconciles this argument by including aspects of moral faith and mutual responsibility in her definition of role models (Fisher 1988).

As Fisher's theory matures, her focus on the role model lessens and is directed to the fulfillment of the needs of the individual who seek out a mentor. She specifically addresses the way a role model impacts on one's feelings of isolation- the loneliness one feels by a sense of being alone in a struggle against the constraints placed upon behaviour, actions and beliefs.

If historical change has any real meaning, we find ourselves on a constant moral frontier in which neither our or anyone else's experience or knowledge of the world guarantees our transition from the present to the future. Thus, the loneliness of women trying to create new kinds of lives or a new kind of society is not merely psychological or even sociological. It is historical and ultimately, perhaps, existential. It is the loneliness of not knowing where our efforts to change social relationships will take us and whether, in the end, the struggle will be worth the cost (Fisher, 1988, 241).

Fisher further states that the choices one makes in choosing a role model is a conscious decision and often times determined by the behaviours or knowledge the model possesses- this is often a teacher or political or historical figure- that a student finds desirable and wishes to emulate. Minimally, the role model helps others learn to express themselves even in the most ordinary of areas such as using new language or vocabulary.

Conclusion

In conclusion the arguments for maintaining the separate nature of women's studies are consistent and mutually agreed upon by its advocates who not only tend to concur with each other but frequently their writing overlaps considerably. Whatever the mode of argument they use, in one way or another they all discuss the requirements needed to nurture a specialised body of knowledge; the transformative nature of feminist learning; and the political nature of all teaching. The common ideas they share include the relationship between theory and pedagogy as praxis which is best effected in a separate program; the indispensability of gender as an analytical tool; power, empowerment and autonomy; and finally, the importance of role models for women students.

Despite such overwhelming agreement, women's studies has, however, produced its own brand of dissenters. Like those they oppose actively or wish to engage in dialogue on those issues they consider gravely important to the present controversies (on the so-called "culture" and "gender" wars) the criticisms of the dissenters also overlap. It is now time to examine these criticisms of the separatist approach and record the arguments as to why the dissenters believe

women's studies should be mainstreamed into traditional disciplines, faculties and programs.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Strange World of Women's Studies

...(W)omen's studies programs and courses are abysmal swamps of irrational dogma and hatred. The feminist classroom is an arena for emotions rather than intellect or analysis. Agreement with the ideology is mandatory.

A feminist professor can have enormous influence with immature young women in a forum where there are no intellectual constraints. In such a classroom emotion and opinion rule. The students are expected to recount personal experiences of suffering and oppression (Robert Bork, 1996, 211).

It might be hoped that Robert Bork, an important judicial figure and neo-conservative critic of the American Supreme Court, represents only the most misogynist and anti-feminist lobby in North America. Also it might be hoped that his views in Slouching Toward Gomorrah (1996) can be dismissed as a vitriolic example of fanatical excess. However, these hopes might be too sanguine. Indeed Bork joins those more moderate voices, who are, curiously, feminist ones. Such critics of women's studies programs and gender/cultural feminism, to separate their views from radical feminism frequently name themselves "equity feminists". They include Camille Paglia, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge to name just a few. Even Germaine Greer has come to revise some of her former hard line positions. One suspects the younger feminist, Naomi Wolfe, is fast falling into this category too as she moves from The Beauty Myth (1990) to Promiscuities (1997). She is in the company of other young women busily revising radical feminism such as Rene Denfield's The New

Victorians: a Young Women's Challenge to the Old Feminist Order (1995).

Some equity feminists, however, defend the old order vehemently as Susan Faludi does in Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women (1991).

Lest we imagine that Bork's rhetoric is alien to the Canadian experience Peter C. Emberly's recent critique, Zero Tolerance (1996), discusses what he considers as similar, even identical, "excesses in Canadian Women's Studies". The difference between Bork and Emberly however is significant, in that the Canadian gives no more credence to the political left than to the political right. Because of this more evenhanded approach it is less easy to label him as just another neo-conservative sexist.

Neither of these critics' arguments can be ignored by simply dismissing those like Robert Bork as wrongheaded foes to the feminist cause. In light of the growing dissatisfaction with the separatist agenda of women's studies it behooves us to pursue the other side of the debate in order to flesh out those arguments that are not merely whimsical or antagonistic but which remind us that they emerge from common premises with regard to women's education and politicization. Starting from similar feminist positions, we see in this chapter not only the arguments for mainstreaming women's studies, but also how the various strands of feminism coalesce into quite different conclusions from those discussed in the previous chapter. The authors selected in the following pages are not isolated voices in a neo-conservative wilderness. They have been chosen because they are particularly eloquent voices and each is a well-known scholar in her own right. There are numerous other less celebrated critics but

those discusses articulate most clearly the views of the advocates of mainstreaming- or as one might have it- representatives of the anti- women's studies coalition.

It is important at this juncture to repeat the axiom argued in the previous chapter that "feminism is the theory and women's studies the practice." Therefore when one addresses questions around the feminist discourse there is an automatic extension to challenging women's studies. Both are inexorably linked.

Following on the heels of the discussion of separatism, the focus of this chapter is on mainstreaming or integration. One cannot look at this issue without discussing the works of those who are critical of programs in women's studies' department and who argue that their methods, epistemology and pedagogical perspectives are detrimental to the university culture and the generation of knowledge. While some argue that women's studies are an essential element to transforming mainstream curriculum others make arguments about the negative effects of gender and identity politics which lead to divisiveness, separatism, preferential treatment, and a corrosive ideological analysis of gender as the sole site of oppression. These critics question how change can be affected from that which you stand apart. They argue too that the overuse of "power" as the all important construct in understanding social organization and human relations has fuelled what is sometimes known as "the gender wars."

I The Stages of Curricular Transformation

Some theorists see women's studies as a stepping stone to integration, others see integration as an addition to women's studies programs; in short, that a separate program should work alongside traditional disciplines, slowly working itself "out of a job" so to speak. We have already considered the permeation principle and this is another version of that principle.

The exclusion of feminist frameworks from mainstream courses and scholarship constitutes an overt, if unacknowledged, policy of containment in the face of feminist challenges to traditional disciplines, the academy, and society at large. We believe it necessary to strike a balance between women's studies programs (which are essential for both intensive and extensive focus on women) and collective efforts to transform the traditional curriculum and contest the masculinist premises on which it is based. Without that transformation, women's studies programs risk continued ghettoization (Aiken et al, 1987, 256).

Mainstreaming or integration is an issue greatly at odds with the notion of separatism; separatists seek to establish themselves outside the constraints of traditional structures, or separately within, whereas proponents of mainstreaming argue for having scholarship and epistemology integrated into traditional curricula. Marilyn Schuster and Susan Van Dyne (1984) have described five stages to a curriculum transformation that embraces epistemological inclusivity. The first stage is the traditional notion of knowledge where the student is a vessel and the teacher delivers exclusionary core curriculum that focuses on the 'great men' of previous centuries. At this stage women are invisible. This mode of teaching and learning has been the most utilized over the centuries and well into this century. Many educators continue to maintain that certain, specific subject matters and content may still be best transmitted in this manner. In the second

stage 'women worthies' are sought out and included in the curriculum. This is an affirmative action or "compensatory" approach whereupon the deeds or actions of exceptional women who are added to already established canons. We cannot minimize the importance of this inclusion and it can be correlated with scholarly revisionism that dominated the 1950's and 1960's which gave a collective "voice" to other minorities who were missing alongside women in the scholarly record. The third stage discussed by Schuster and VanDyne could easily be labeled 'woman as victim'. Different questions are asked "(w)hy are there so few women leaders? Why are women's traditional roles (or forms of expression) devalued?" (Schuster and Van Dyne, 1985, 20), leading to the assumption that women are a disadvantaged and subordinate group. It is at this point that authors credit women's studies with providing a critical theoretical perspective. The pursuit of answers to these questions, however, identified other vexing problems. For one, women are class stratified no less than their male counter-parts. Poor, minority and disadvantaged women resisted the notion that well-heeled, educated, and influential women were or could be uniformly labeled 'victims' in any real sense of the word except by comparison with their brothers, husbands, or fathers. Moreover many women either individually or as a social group could not realistically be seen as passive recipients of discrimination or persecution.

In addition a history that only emphasized the horrors and degradation of women could not in any sense be said to provide future generations with positive role models or to generate worthwhile values. The third stage therefore was

anomalous, even tentative. It proved to be unproductive- an intellectual dead-end because women came to be viewed as victims with little power to alter their circumstances. In this sense women's studies followed the direction of other political and social minority scholarship- the working classes, slaves, blacks, ethnic groups, and children. Scholarship flourished in depicting the lives of these groups, including women, by demonstrating the context and texture of their lives in the present and past as agents in their own history. From these assumptions stage four emerges

Stage four of curriculum transformation seeks to view the experience of women as contextual and includes intersections of class, race, culture and sexual orientation. Just as revisionist history argued that minorities, even oppressed groups, created their own histories in a reciprocal relationship with the oppressor, so has feminist philosophy argued that women have "agency" in creating their own experiences; that even under seemingly impossible odds there has emerged a "female culture" and experience. This of course is a counter version of essentialism as difference as it is socially constructed. One of the best historical examples of this stage of feminist scholarship is found in Carol Smith-Rosenberg's "The Female World of Love And Ritual" (1975). Smith-Rosenberg speaks very clearly about feminine culture when she discusses the increasingly segregated nature of Victorian society. Two distinct and separate spheres had emerged, one clearly male, and one clearly female. Contacts between the sexes were often stiff and brief. Women, on the other hand, enjoyed long periods of contact and friendship. Friendships formed a support network for women.

Women helped each other with problems, and in times of sickness and trouble. Friends if separated by distance, would write and visit and often stay a month or sometimes more. To the Victorian middle class woman bounded by home and church, or separated in New World settings by distance from kinfolk friendships with other women became emotionally central to overcome feelings of isolation. The sharing of anxiety, joy, and sorrow was premised on a knowledge that the world of women contained many similarly and handed-down shared experiences, and folklore associated with such as childbirth, love, death, and health among others. These friendships included intimate mother-daughter relationships, developed after the daughter finished schooling and was being coached in the finer points of domesticity in preparation for marriage. Smith-Rosenberg points out that this was an historical phenomena, a distinctive women's culture of the nineteenth century rising out of the constraints of the female world of highly structured relationships (Smith-Rosenberg, 1975). In many ways women's studies continue to reflect and perpetuate this tradition and in a sense there is a continuity with the past as we have already seen from the historical background (Lenton, 1990).

Again, women's studies is an important program in the development of new epistemological positions and providing new scholarship that includes what is known from the experience of women, and the questioning of already established paradigms (Schuster and Van Dyne 1985). From this brief description we can identify the creation and establishment of women's studies curriculum to this point in time.

Clearly the arguments posited in the previous chapter are indicative of the culmination of these four stages into a particular fifth stage whereas the brief for integration illustrates the evolution to a radically divergent fifth stage. To those opposed to integration/mainstreaming stage five represents a major disruption and not an evolutionary or inevitable one. To others, this is the point at which integration and transformation begins. It is the point at which feminist scholarship is included in mainstream curriculum by necessity and inevitability:

...the move from women-focused study to transformation of the conventional curriculum is inevitable, because most of us as teachers inhabit both worlds and must necessarily question how what we learned by studying women bears on the other courses we teach (Schuster and Van Dyne, 1985, 24).

The final stage of curriculum transformation is described by Schuster and Van Dyne as the *balanced curriculum* wherein we reach a compromise which accepts there are no big 't' truths and that knowledge is developed out of a pluralistic human experience and not a universal understanding of humanity.. The authors point out that this stage has yet to be achieved and as it is necessary to go through all the stages none can be bypassed in the development of women's studies (Schuster and Van Dyne 1985). (The model of evolutionary development, curiously, is hardly a feminist one!)

There remains resistance to this course of events on two levels: (a) among some mainstream or traditional scholars who work in the disciplines and faculties and (b) among many women's studies instructors and directors who perceive this course of action as detrimental to feminist scholarship or as undermining programs so hard won in the academy. The first group may see this

inclusion in terms of an effort to discredit established canons/disciplines as well as individual scholars and many refute claims that gender should become a primary category of analysis (Schuster and Van Dyne, 1985).

II Ghetto or Integration?

As early as 1983 Sandra Coyner posed arguments for mainstreaming and analyzed the degrees by which information on women has been and might be integrated into a given discipline. She points out that because scholarship has to be determined by established normative criteria based on the valorization of women's activities, work, and experiences, all of which have traditionally been defined in relation to men, "the disciplines will probably have to redefine themselves fundamentally" (Coyner 1983, 127). Coyner believes that it will be the liberals and liberal feminists who will support mainstreaming and these, as a consequence, will not be considered the radical arm of women's studies. Indeed they may find themselves alienated from women's studies. Nonetheless, even this goal is far from modest when one considers the profound effect such transformational activity would have on educational content. While separatists focus on creating alternative structures and innovative processes, proponents of mainstreaming also seek fundamental epistemological and curricula changes by reaching out to the majority who presently stand outside these programs.

Laura Kramer and George Martin also view the integration of women's scholarship in stages that begin with feminist critiques and end with the "diffusion, or mainstreaming of feminism" (Kramer and Martin, 1988, 133). Here again we see a version of the permeation principle. For example a proliferation

of feminist scholarship has made it a requirement of sociology instructors to be familiar with gender analysis if they are to adequately present up-to-date literature and research studies. In courses on sex roles, the family, and criminology or policies implementing standards for gender equity, gender has become a key element. (Kramer and Martin, 1988). No respectable law degree nowadays is unaware of feminist approaches to the legal system.

It may be helpful to clarify the kind of integration that Kramer and Martin discuss by illustrating it in some of the course content of a number of courses in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta, because such integration is in fact the genesis of mainstreaming. None of this integration into mainstream work could have been created out of nothingness and if only some of it has emerged from women's studies scholarship, all of it was generated out of the feminist discourse by feminist scholars. The use of feminist scholarship within this faculty alone (that is education) is in fact radical given the potential and future impact it could have on learning and education. One might assume that students now learning this material at university will begin the dissemination of approaches and insights into their classrooms within the public school system and even those of private schools. In this way, today's radical knowledge will become tomorrow's orthodoxy.

Paying particular attention to Educational Foundations at the University of Alberta at this point, I have examined three course outlines of four courses for the 1997 Fall term. Educational Foundations. Educational Foundation (ED.FDN) 301 is a selected topics course intended as a contextual analysis of the historical

development of education in Canada. Additionally the course examines issues that impact education such as the role of education in gender construction. Gender, race, class and sexual orientation are all parts that make up one's identity. Of these four, three are directly addressed through the course sections. Sexual orientation however is not an issue addressed in this topics course which is striking in that for two years a topic on sexual orientation had been an important compulsory component in the junior foundations course ED FDN 101. The relationship between this topic and others such as religion, multi-culturalism, social class and race was conceptualized under the theme "Differences and Common Understandings" in public education and it was made clear that gender and sexual orientation cannot be separated. All topics were included under the problematic of curriculum development and "inclusivity."

Educational Foundations 360, "Society and Education" is another of the courses offered by Educational Policy Studies. This course provided an historical overview of education from a sociological perspective. It assumes that the primary role of education is an integration into mainstream society and attempts to identify the socialization practices that enable it to maintain or change the political, social and economic order. Based on this premise, the course also explores the relationship between what is known and learned and patterns of socialization that consequently determine social roles and categories defined by sex, social class, ethnicity and race.

The third course I examined for this particular exercise is ED FDN 493: "Contemporary Issues in Education." Currently this course is being taught by a

number of instructors, each of whom address the issues according to their own expertise and interest; however, essentially their instruction is based on set materials. The course examines current issues in a manner that teaches critical thinking skills applied to educational issues that emerge from the tensions in a pluralistic society where differences in identity can cause conflict and teachers are expected to transmit knowledge, values, attitudes and skills that supposedly reflect the norms and values of an ever changing society. A number of topics that address issues of ethnicity, race, class, technology, giftedness, and integration and mainstreaming with gender being stressed constitute the content base for this course. The statements found in course descriptions are not guarantees that these subjects are either covered at all throughout the course's progress or that they are imparted either as a feminist discourse or elaborated in a manner that would satisfy a moderate, let alone an ardent feminist!

If we look at the analysis of gender construction as a form of feminist scholarship then it is apparent that a substantial amount of feminist scholarship has made its way into the course content of a mainstream educational program. Of course sometimes such course descriptions are token gestures. Neither can one presume that what is being taught in one program speaks for an entire faculty or university although there is every indication that other departments are incorporating feminist scholarship. However such examples exemplify the influence of the 'permeation principle'. In this instance, some forms of knowledge and pedagogical practice which have been generated by scholars (feminist and/or otherwise), and those who have revolutionized teaching have

been included in a traditionally conservative faculty. These processes must transform other pedagogical practices because

(f)eminist pedagogies with their complementary component of feminist ethics demand respect for persons, the establishment of relationships based on mutual trust which are deemed essential for good teaching, and above all, the recognition of the "agency" of individual students (Rooke, 1993, 279).

While some feminists may be appeased by the inclusion of gender in the courses taught it is likely that lesbian separatists will continue to maintain the need for a separate place as they do not accept that their voices are being heard and the issues that effect gay and lesbians-youths, adults and families- are not being brought to the forefront for examination in a classroom setting. This is odd in that gender-identity and same-sex orientation cannot be separated. Rooke, who appears to be a mainstreamer if one is to judge by her work on feminist and gender issues, discusses the implication for the classroom and curriculum development establishing first that gender and sexual orientation cannot be artificially dichotomized in the manner so many courses still do (1993). Neither can it be separated from race or social class for the matter. On the other hand she argues that the integrity of such discourses on gender and sexual identity is not a simple process to be appointed conveniently and unthinkingly under the rubric of "gay lessons." She discusses the practicality and efficacy of such inclusion at several levels of content and chronology and states that the complexity of curriculum development has an epistemological component too often overlooked or, often as not, seductively oversimplified. As to claims that gay and lesbian teachers might be tempted to indoctrinate she observes, "in the

final analysis, the content, aims and methods of gay and lesbian teachers" (one might assume the idea of gay lessons also)..." can only be subjected to the same criteria of ethical conduct that are applied to heterosexual teachers who transmit other controversial contents" (Rooke, 1993, 279-280).

While there may be a large number of feminist scholars who support mainstreaming based on its potential to transform scholarship and academic structures, there are also a number of reluctant scholars who argue about the deleterious effect of women's studies on traditional notions of scholarship and remain profoundly suspicious of the actions that move toward integration. Some see it as compromising traditional disciplines, watering down what they consider essential for introductory courses which are already taught too economically, while others see it as an intrusive territorial move on the part of aggressive feminists in the process of empire-building. The feminist proponents of mainstreaming make for the more interesting group because they are just that—feminist scholars engaging in self-criticism and analytic revision- and risking alienation and disdain from their women's studies peers for their efforts.

The most controversial and persuasive of these are Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge who argue in Professing Feminism: Cautionary Tales From the Strange World of Women's Studies (1994) that women's studies has become a hotspot where economics, political ideologies, conformity, and identity politics, have come together in an explosive amalgam causing these programs to become sites of conflict that lead to a loss of effectiveness and a diminution of integrity. They insist that despite its initial necessity the practice of separatism is

now harmful, that women's studies programs are leading to ghettoization and that separatism is counter-productive. They insist that it is necessary to engage in dialogue with male and non-feminist scholars. "Separatism unavoidably discourages such dialogue. Instead it favors dogmatic assertion, a standard tactic of ideologically inflamed movements, whether religious or political" (Patai and Koertge 1994, 6).

Patai and Koertge discuss the conflict that exists within these programs as a result of ineffective attempts to reconcile various feminist ideological perspectives struggling for dominance in a volatile and fragile structure. Wondering how such dissention can be avoided they point out that women's studies scholarship is, in and of itself, ideological because feminism is an ideology. Therefore women's studies professors are ideologues whether they would agree with this description or not because this is the nature of their discourse and purpose. Consequently they become uncritical and unreflective about the values and precepts they hold. (Patai and Koertge, 1994). Many of these ideologues are caught up in definitions and constructions of identity, known as "identity politics" or IDPOL for short.

We have already seen how the construction of identity is made up of factors that elaborate gender, race, class and sexual orientation. And we are not surprised to learn that Patai and Koertge point to the divisive effects of people grouping themselves in clusters according to race, gender, culture and sexual orientation. These clusters see themselves as disadvantaged and oppressed and compete for scarce resources in order to create knowledge and scholarship

that will best forward their cause. This identification is political in nature therefore problematic, if for no other reason, than that the numerous special interest groups become lobbies of self-interest. Some wits are apt to observe drolly that all becomes a matter of who has been and is oppressed more than others. This is, however, too glib a comment because women's studies programs attempt to give credence to the various lobbies' claims of oppression. Nonetheless Patai and Koertge remain unconvinced.

Seeking favors for one's own group is as old a practice as politics itself. But while lobbyists for special interests rarely own up to their quest for disproportionate benefits, feminist players of IDPOL (identity politics) proudly demand preferential treatment claiming that their history of oppression entitles women to special consideration...As played today, IDPOL is more than the ugly spawn of old-fashioned special-interest jockeying and ethnic politics. In recent times, this off-spring has been further crossed with oppression analyses coming out of the left to create virulently personalized form of IDPOL that is perhaps the single most destructive aspect of Women's Studies programs today (Patai and Koertge, 1994, 52).

At the same time they analyze the contradictions in a scholarship that promotes the concept of difference and at the same time seems to promote the essential nature of women. What becomes disturbing about Koertge and Patai's "Cautionary Tales" is that they, formerly radical feminists, lend credence to the conservative women critics who have never claimed a radical identification with feminism or those who are indisputably liberal feminist and some who are seen as neo-conservatives!

III Gender and Equity

Philosopher and social theorist, Christina Hoff Sommers, criticizes women's studies from a perspective that is similar to that of Patai and Koertge.

The conflict she sees waging in the academy is between two groups of women identified as "gender feminists" and "equity feminists." The gender feminists who promote education for social change are responsible for dismantling and not merely transforming the traditional curriculum. Gender feminists are the radical faction of the academic arm of the women's movement and believe gender to be the primary site of oppression for women under the current patriarchal organization of society. "When a woman's feminist consciousness is thus 'raised,' she learns to identify her personal self with her gender" (Sommers 1994, 23). Equity feminists, on the other hand have more in common with the women who are defined by the expression 'first wave' feminists. They are more mainstream and seek equity-"fair treatment, without discrimination"-although acknowledging equity has not yet been achieved. Nonetheless equity feminists argue there have been successes and advancements in women studies, the academy, and the economic and political society (Sommers, 1994, 22).

According to Sommers, gender feminists minimize the changes that have been made by asserting these have been assimilated into an essentially unequal social organization, which still revolves around male interests. They insist that social change can only be facilitated by changing whole curricula. Their goal is daunting when one considers that they seek to design curricula from kindergarten to graduate school, and to some observers, socially engineer the broader culture as well. While the following is a critique of American society it can be applied to liberal democracies generally.

The gender feminists are exuberantly confident that they are qualified to overhaul the American educational system. Unlike other, more modest

reformers, these women are convinced that their insights into social reality uniquely equip them to understand the educational needs of American Women...Gender feminists are at work in hundreds of transformation projects for changing university curricula that they regard as inadmissibly "masculinist." The bias of the traditional "white male curriculum" must be eliminated, and new programs that include women must replace those in which women are "absent," "silent" or "invisible." The whole "knowledge base" must be transformed (Sommers 1994, 52).

While promoting the transformed curriculum they appear to be ill-equipped to provide a vision of what this new curriculum would be like other than to argue that it is to be inclusive (Sommers 1994).

We have seen in the previous chapter that the transformed curriculum is based on a new epistemology that is subjective and contextual: such epistemology is based upon a standpoint theory. On the one hand while such a theory has effectively introduced new voices, Sommers insists that it is destined to remain generally inaccessible as a consequence of its subjective nature. She uses "different ways of knowing" as promoting the notion of female superiority, which lacks academic rigor and empirical evidence.

Their belief in the superiority of "women's ways of knowing" fosters a sense of solidarity and cultural community that seems to have allowed them to overlook the fact that their doctrine tends to segregate women in a culture of their own, that it increases social divisiveness along gender lines, and that it may seriously weaken the American Academy (Sommers, 1994, 77).

Sommers also believes that the contemporary feminist classroom by emphasising gender tokenism has become unscholarly and "intolerant of dissent" (Sommers, 1994, 90). Using her own experiences in teaching feminist theory and association with women's studies teachers, Christina Sommers asserts that within such a reconceptualized notion of knowledge (which in her mind is a mixture of political jargon and personal experience) there is little to prepare women for life

outside of a women's studies classroom. The departure from traditionally structured disciplines where the focus is on academic skills attained through the use of logic and scientific discovery to establish social scientific cases of inequality and posit concrete means to overcoming these discrepancies and inequalities, to one that emphasizes subjectivity, consensual behaviour and "women's ways of knowing" has adopted and even legitimated conventional stereotypes. Gender feminists posture as radical but do not seem to recognize the dangers of previous claims about women's differences.

The feminist classroom does little to prepare students to cope in the world of work and culture. It is an embarrassing scandal that, in the name of feminism, young women in our colleges and universities are taking courses in feminist classrooms that subject them to a lot of bad prose, psychobabble, and "new age" nonsense...In this way, gender feminist pedagogy plays into old sexist stereotypes that extol women's capacity for intuition, emotion, and empathy while denigrating their capacity to think objectively and systematically in the way men can (Sommers, 1994, 91).

It may be asked what conventional stereotypes can Sommers be alluding to? If we recapitulate the historical overview presented in Chapter One this becomes more apparent. Rousseau, for one, believed in a women's culture, a distinct female nature, and women's way of knowing, all of which suggested a distinct and separate education for girls and women. The nineteenth century claims about 'true womanhood' and 'educated motherhood' did not diverge greatly from these premises and the first formal institutions of higher learning for women did not radically part from the "difference" equation either. Such common wisdom always made claims about women's traits, aptitudes, social roles and functions and have provided simple minded folklore about women (e.g., her "instincts") and even cruder versions in popular culture in the form of jokes and anecdotes.

Sommers echoes what other authors have stated about the "personal is political" rhetoric resounding in the women's studies classroom; not the bread and butter axiomatic appeal, although not precluding this, but the very personal nature of women's experiences, identities, sexualities- their inner rather than public lives. Equity feminism collapses under the introspective and intimate appeal of gender feminism (Rooke, 1996). The very nature of women's studies- its political agenda- is what encourages the negative effects its critics seek to discover and uncover in gender feminism's influence over women's studies programs. Sommers claims that, although many would deny it, women's studies has in a sense become co-opted. It has turned into what it has been in the business of critiquing. If patriarchy represents a closed and privileged mindset setting standards and establishing criteria of knowledge in its own interest and in order to perpetuate itself so too have feminist positions. The 'old boys' networks have been substituted by 'new girls' networks, which are exclusionary as both the scholarship and women's studies cadres establish an arbitrary self-selection process. While enthusiasts for such networking posit good reasons for their perpetration and efficacy, according to its critics it has become a closed system that is not open to criticism and resembles a religion rather than an academic tradition (Lenton, 1990). Sommers refers to its teachings as counter-indoctrination. The polemic nature of its scholarship has turned into its own form of indoctrination (Sommers 1994).

IV Identity Politics

Another problem that is raised by critics of women's studies programs has to do with the student population. Women's studies is seen as discriminating against men in an ironic reversal of the history of discrimination against women. Even where there is no clearly identifiable exclusion-such as "no men need apply" there appears to be a tacit discouragement. Where male students are found it has been suggested they are either uncomfortable or even made to feel some discomfort by their presence. The conflict is multi-faceted: men coming into women's studies can be defensive, talk too much, interrupt, and question the authority of the instructor. These are complaints heard by women's studies instructors and students; in contrast to this, the reception men receive in women's studies classes is frequently unwelcome and hostile, leaving men hurt and bewildered (Patai and Koertge, 1994). Without exploring these accusations we can ask the more central question which embraces the demographic issue and that is: What part can men play in women's studies? And not only as students. What of male scholars? There is no doubt that they too have been discouraged from contributing to feminist scholarship but no less so than non-feminist women.

Margarit Eichler's 1990 project on Canadian Women's Studies argues there are several arguments against having men as teachers or for that matter of including feminist issues in mainstream classrooms: (1) epistemological disadvantage-they have not had female experiences (2) men teaching women/feminist studies "inadvertently reinforce the existing male-female

authority differential" (they are part of the problem whereas women are part of the solution) (3) their motivations are suspect (Eichler, 1990, 69).^{*} Other men complain they are discriminated against in the mainstream academy especially if they are gay or postmodernists. While still major beneficiaries of academic status as males, are hypercritical of patriarchal structures and heterosexualized norms in western culture. In this they share a common perspective with feminists and are supportive of their projects. All are cultural deconstructionists who have resurrected transgressive philosophies (e.g., Nietzsche, Foucault, Derrida, deSade, Lacan) and critique such institutions as marriage and the family. Such scholars are accepted by radical feminists whereas the "straight" male and anti postmodernist male is not, as he is suspected of "intellectual window dressing" (Fulton, 1993). These probably represent a fair part of Eichler's 13% of male teachers who are involved in women's studies programs (Eichler, 1990, 69).

According to Patai and Koertge, women are responding specifically from a position of identity that assumes that one is unable to assume or understand oppression from a perspective that is something other than one's own. Because men are not women they cannot become engaged in the liberation of women. In addition, additionally they already reap many of the consequences of such liberation and the field of competition will widen. While this may be the predominant consideration, there are those women (albeit few) who consider it

^{*} The Canadian Women's Studies Project was a research project partially funded by a SSHRCC grant and driven primarily by Margarit Eichler and Rhonda Lenton. The breadth and scope of the project was to provide some insight into how, where, and by whom did women's/feminist studies emerge in Canadian universities. "How did they develop? Is there a difference between women's studies and feminist studies? What are the linkages between women's/feminist studies and the women's movement? Who are the people who have been influential in shaping the thoughts of professors who teach women's studies courses" (Eichler, 1990, 7)? This project serves as a vehicle which provides these answers.

essential for men to take women's studies classes or classes on gender and socialization in order to confront their own sexism and as a method of sensitivity training. This question has been debated heatedly in studies of race. For example it has been said that if one studies "Southern History" in the United States the instruction is usually white but if one teaches and studies Black History the instructor is usually non-white. While the content frequently is the same the perspectives on subject positions are poles apart. The question persists and it is one that universities are bound to ask: to what extent is the intellectual life able to transcend matters of race, gender, social class, or sexual orientation; and should it endeavour to do so?

From a male perspective, feminism and women's studies has an exclusionary aspect. This exclusion is two-fold; the first is the practical application and how it effects the job market. The effect women's studies programs has on the job market is in its appearance as an affirmative action and equal status opportunity agency and its advocacy of these goals. White males refer to this as 'reverse discrimination' and see it as disadvantaging them. They see the introduction of feminist material to be taught only by women as undermining their work, denying them jobs and publications, extending influence, empire building, and creating networks which exclude them and as the tendency prevails to hire only according to gender. It is therefore not in their interest to support the feminist agenda but neither is it in the feminist or women's studies interest to go "mainstream". Peter Emberly states it is this way:

When the cultural left speaks of "education equity," it does not mean a more intellectually balanced and comprehensive curriculum reform on the

basis of race, gender and ethnicity. The result, paradoxically, is the kind of modularized curriculum equally praised by the corporate right. In fact to drive the point home, the argument for sociological representation is actually an argument against representation: no one can adequately represent anyone else and nothing can effectively represent anything else. Therefore to illustrate, men cannot articulate, and least of all endorse, the universal validity of women's claims for equality in the work place, just as Westerners could make no claims regarding development or morality on the behalf of non-Westerners (Emberley 1996, 223).

While in the previous chapter the positive aspects of lesbian separatism were discussed, scholars such as Patai and Koertge are suspicious of this form of separatism as just another cog in the wheel they have referred to as IDPOL. Neither can we dismiss this as another form of homophobia as one of the author's names herself a small letter "lesbian". Lesbian separatism is the consequence of an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile differences between lesbian and straight women despite idealization of sisterhood in theories about a "lesbian continuum" (Patai and Koertge 1994). Patai and Koertge consider that lesbians in women's studies are a political group, and not being tied down by traditional familial expectations that constrain their time and focus they have been very influential in the feminist community outside the academy in projects and programs which seek to improve the status of women. The polemic reaches vitriolic heights with some feminists accusing heterosexual, and especially married women of "sleeping with the enemy." Essentially Patai and Koertge are critical of IDPOL creation of divisiveness. Moreover some identity groups remain unacknowledged and excluded (e.g., religious groups).

Fears about the divisive nature of identity politics are echoed by Peter Emberley who quotes Jean Bethke Elstain when he asserts that identity politics

are a fragmenting force that "results in a political gridlock" (Emberley, 1996, 149). These are instruments of a politic that further isolates citizens and distances them further away from each other so that an impasse makes negotiation and conciliation impossible. Indeed it has created a whole culture of the "Other" which feminist theories propose to alleviate. IDPOL is a source of alienation that has created divisiveness among marginalized groups rather than promoting the idea of citizens joined in the pursuit of democracy (Emberley, 1996). This comment may seem unconnected to the issue -women's studies- at hand but its connection is less tenuous than it appears at first glance. Without getting into a chicken and egg debate, it seems clear that the fragmentation within women's studies and the academy itself on issues of IDPOL reflects the broader fragmentation in modern liberal democracies based on a curious mixture of collective and communal identities and an egocentric individualism which engages in an expanding culture of "rights" litigation. Separatism exacerbates such conflict and encourages one group claiming rights even at the disadvantage of another group. A "culture of complaint" is perpetuated in separatist programs and leads to confrontation, exclusion rather than inclusion, and irreconcilable differences (Hughes, 1993).

Emberley continues his concerns when he relates women's studies to feminist education. Gender feminists are a part of "the cultural left" who have come into the university seeking to educate for social change. He and all of the critics of women's studies see the connections between feminism as the theory and women's studies as the practice. He repeats that the therapeutic orientation

of the new left (as distinct from the old socialist left) have made traditional disciplines and conventional and fraternal student behaviour appear pathological. Feminist see the historical and cultural traditions, expectations and rites of passage as maintaining the status quo, entrenching power elites and reinforcing logocentric and phallogocentric norms while perpetuating anachronistic overarching metasystems. On the other hand the university is also the only area where the cultural left is having an impact-to some, at the cost of academic freedom.

For the cultural left the battles must be found in the areas of curricula, academic hierarchy, university composition and the terms of academic discourse. Pervasive injustice must be tracked down, in *Eurocentrism*, *androcentrism*, and *heterosexism* (the apparent privilege given to European civilization, male perspectives and heterosexual relations) and under the new mantra of "race, gender and ethnicity" (Emberley, 1996, 202).

The left-wing ideologues (no longer Marxist and Socialists but now the postmodernists, gender feminists and cultural theorists) argue the reverse- that an unchanged education system continues to deny whole groups a voice in the echelons of power, the democratic process, or access in the political and economic estates. Arguments resound about "privilege" and how to meliorate the condition of the disenfranchised and underprivileged through educational change. The solution to such inequities in the curriculum is to transform it; such transformation could be identified by its inclusive content representing the realities the "other". The problem remains, one which has not been addressed by the cultural left, that it in turn becomes exclusionary in its quest to excise the Euro-male perspective from the university. The question of texts and readings-

whose are to be banned, boycotted, revised, reviled, accepted- has become acrimonious and unanswerable. Whose books are to be judged acceptable and more to the point who is to be the judge? Women's studies rejection of "the Great Books" courses or courses in "Western Civilization" is a case in point. Content is less important than how the author, teacher, student is to understand herself. Thus objective normatives are passe'. This of course flies in the face of the historical and intellectual commitments of the academy but continues to constitute the heart of the critique of the feminist women's studies project.

Among critics of women's studies are those who target feminist pedagogy and epistemology by arguing that they are neither academic nor rigorous. Patai and Koertege- who have been women's studies professors and are therefore presumably well informed- are among those who make this argument; that as traditional scholarship is rejected a new epistemology is created that has little more to it than the rhetoric and accusations of misogyny. They believe that old school feminists were better trained within the traditional canons and are more reliable arbitrators than those trained as generalists. Moreover a recent wave of feminist revisionism has given students limited and insufficient education in the knowledge base which they are protesting and critiquing. This question alone would make an interesting empirical study which would try to see the quantity and quality of work produced by (a) those younger women trained in women's studies programs by women's studies professors; and (b) those younger women trained by older scholars who majored in the disciplines and whose original interests, research, theses were not "women's studies" *per se* or even feminist.

For example Elshtain, Genovese, Sommers, Rosenberg, Paglia, and Scott were scholars in their own right before they became commentators on feminism or engaged in women's studies programs. Often these scholars are the ones whose interpretation and research is cited, seen as respectable, or even legitimates otherwise suspect ideas. Whether this is intellectual snobbery and academic elitism is untested. Often these scholars' work is perceived by traditional scholars as impeccable even when they venture out of their respective disciplines of history, political philosophy, literary criticism and classics into feminist territory. Interestingly they are cited more frequently by feminist scholars than are strictly feminist scholars (apart from the much-lauded Carroll Smith-Rosenberg) (Patai and Koertge, 1994).

Among the most balanced critics Elshtain stands tall particularly in her article "The Social Relations of the Classroom" (1976) already referred to in this study. Here she agrees that feminist pedagogies and philosophies do not differ in many aspects from those of progressive, marxist or global educators. The techniques used are not specific to feminists or even to "critical pedagogy," the latest term for rather old ideas. She frets about the emphasis on "lived experience"

There is a trap. If life experience, unmediated through a critical conceptual medium, is given privileged epistemological status, and the "feelings" which attach to this experience are embraced without challenge or criticism, the analysis or conclusions which emerge will be riddled with the fatal flaws of a false consciousness. If it is indeed true that women are oppressed it follows, as Juliet Miller has pointed out insistently, that this oppression must have psychic consequences. Women have internalized relations of dominance and submission-this is one of the potent "injuries" of class, sex, and race oppression. Thus to privilege "female experience" is to absolutize a distorted relativity, to ground oneself in the flux of

repression, and to avoid the need to evaluate competing theoretical frameworks on the basis of their explanatory force- which incorporates the human subject-object at its critical core (Elshtain, 1976, 106).

Elshtain remains distant from the seductions of the worst kinds of feminist pedagogy but wholly sympathetic to the rest. At the conclusion of her article she affirms the necessity for a constructive and reflective classroom when she says,

To me that means defending a critical feminist theory within which conceptual re-vision, transformative political praxis, and respect for the complexity and responsibility of persons, form an irreducible whole which is neither identical to nor is it abstracted form but, rather, immanent within the situated reality which is my life and consciousness (Elshtain, 1976,110).

V IDPOL and Society

Discussions by authors such as Emberely, Fox-Genovese and Elshtain move us out of specific critiques of women's studies and topics such as gender and identity politics into the realms of political theory and educational philosophy. In Feminism Without Illusions (1991). Elizabeth Fox-Genovese provides an overall critique of modern feminism and feminist theory that focuses on the inherent conflict based on feminist attempts to combine community, connection and individualism. This is quite apart from her more recent scathing indictment of radical feminism and women's studies as part of it in the story of Feminism is Not the Story of My Life (1996). How are these inherently conflictual concepts of individualism and community reconciled? To this point Fox-Genovese states that they are not. She discusses "sisterhood" as it has been used and defined by feminists as a metaphor for community, a group of women who are bonded

together to deal with a cause; the assumption here was a universal identity that contemporary feminism has rejected. While some women may be continuing to name allegiance or membership to particular communities, affiliations and political parties, others denounce such campaigning because they assume the umbrella of feminism while exhibiting confrontational tactics with other feminists. Such groups vary in identity claims and political ideologies so that an unformed observer can only be confused. "As a defense, this celebration (of difference) embodies serious contradictions that inform much of our political and social thought- especially feminism" (Fox-Genovese, 1991, 38). Elshtain agrees when she quotes "the politics of difference and the ideology of multiculturalism have contributed to rendering suspect the language and possibilities of collectivity, common action, and shared purpose" (Elshtain, 1993, 76). The irony is that such groups, including feminists and IDPOL lobbies must appeal to a common culture in redressing discrimination and appealing to the respect their differences demand.

As a community, the family is a specific social structure that is frequently the target of the feminist critique. The assault on the nuclear family and the normalizing of homosexuality and alternative families is a primary thrust. The family is seen to be a site of oppression, but as Rousseau and disciples understood, this is the one area that is largely credited with providing women with a significant amount of identity, prestige, even psychological power. This is not to be confused with public or political power. At the same time it is through their

* Genovese's disaffection can be explained partially by the sexual harassment case against her while director of women's studies at Emory University. She has since been cleared of the charges made by a

membership in families that women have developed distinct and arguably more humanistic values.

Conflict around communitarian values and women's rights reflects the historical and political arrangements of most societies where the subordination of women within the traditional confines of communities is common.

Indeed the attempt to conjoin the two positions, which few have attempted explicitly to reconcile, betrays the uneasy coexistence of communitarian and individualistic commitments in contemporary feminist theory and also betrays considerable confusion about the universal and the particular in the experience of specific women or groups of women (Fox-Genovese, 1991, 41).

Fox-Genovese agrees with those conventional views of family relationships, which maintain that the family is the basic and most fundamental unit of society, and as such individuals within families have certain responsibilities to one another first and then to the society at large. In this she says no less than Rousseau himself. Elshtain's seminal work Public Man Private Woman (1981) makes similar observations hearkening back to Rousseau's view of sexual differences.

Rousseau's chief hope for attaining a balance of private and public virtue lay in education. He devised a very different course of study for his Emile and his Sophie respectively. Indeed, Rousseau's account of male and female development and educational processes and requisites highlights the tension in his thought as well as his concessions to an environmentalist posture (Elshtain, 1981, 160).

Women, the reproducers, are maintained by husbands, in a contractual arrangement. Feminists argue that these metaphors are ones of power and are unacceptable given the propensity and possibility for men to abuse such power.

They, like the postmodernists with whom they have so much in common politically, wish to deconstruct the metaphors of family because they do not see them as realities and or mere words. Much feminist discourse points to this belief in some utopian form of family organization which will be the lynch-pin to cultural deconstruction. In this sense we might better understand the latest cultural shifts to "alternative families" and diverse parenting models which are supported by gender feminists but less enthusiastically embraced by many of its liberal wing. Women's Studies programs provide them the critical space for their project.

To deal with this feminists have argued and fought for changes through the court and political system, in order to deconstruct legally sanctioned communities which disadvantage women, using as their defense an assertive philosophical individualism which emphasizes the inalienable rights of groups and individuals. One feminist issue after another runs up against the contradiction between individual and community values: "reproductive choice, daycare, opposition to pornography and comparable worth" (Fox-Genovese, 1991, 51). Clearly there is conflict between the use of individualism as a method of dismantling the master's house and feminist attempts to create epistemology based on an ontology of connectedness and relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter responds to the arguments for separatism from two perspectives: the first perspective remains committed to the notion of women's studies, however, finds that as a revolutionary tool separatism is an ineffective

and insufficient way of transforming the academy. Such transformation is necessary and 'inclusivity' in education at all levels is a goal. This transformation is one that would likely happen in stages and rely on women's studies both as a tool and perhaps as a preliminary undertaking. Others articulate a concerns about women's studies by criticizing feminist epistemology and scholarship as unsound and uncritical with a penchant toward therapeutic methods and politicized history in its attempt to make theory based on individual experience and identity. One of the most damning critiques of this politicized history is Gertrude Himmelfarb, On Looking into the Abyss: Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society (1994), in which she says that the "poetics of history" has become the "politics of history," the writing of history becomes the praxis of history or an instrument in the struggle for power. She places a great deal of blame for this situation on feminism and women's studies and postmodernist thinkers such as Foucault and Derrida (Himmelfarb, 1994, 151-52).

Ideological conflicts between various feminist factions have been difficult to reconcile and consequently even women's studies programs themselves are unable to envision a model that incorporates various viewpoints. The philosophical tensions that exist produce intermittent eruptions and conflictual relationships, the least not being those between essentialism and social construction, and individualism and communities. These are all issues that must be addressed before critics such as Bork, Emberley are able to look at feminist scholarship and integration without alarm; their concerns are-regrettably perhaps- valid and legitimate in the present. We may not be "slouching toward

Gomorrah" as Bork suggests, but this is not to say that we are trouble-free despite the claim that women's studies are "Our Universities' Best Kept Secret" (Tite and Malone, 1990' 25).

CHAPTER FIVE

The Permeation Principle

Obviously, then, we are not speaking of superficial changes when we advocate a social reconstruction of knowledge, which has devalued and continues to devalue most things related to women. This reconstruction constitutes more than making new objects of knowledge or inserting more information into existing bodies of knowledge. It suggests a redefinition of knowledge itself, with women as agents and gender an analytic tool fundamental to its articulation. Under these conditions the reorganization of such knowledge-or mainstreaming-is not simply "about women," maintaining as it does that gender as a system of social and relational organization is endemic to all societies and is not just a social role or a set of traits common to either sex (Pearson and Rooke, 1993, 419).

The previous four chapters constitute a discussion intended to answer the question "should women's studies remain a separate program or be integrated into the mainstream?"

I Recapitulation

The first chapter introduced us to a brief historical look at women's education; a discussion that is best exemplified in the views of Rousseau and Wollstonecraft; one arguing for education for women based on the complementary nature of the male/female relationship, with the other arguing from a liberal perspective for an inclusive education based on women's ability to be rational but retaining at the same time views of female essentialism related to reproduction (sex) and mothering (gender). These two perspectives set the stage for the ongoing debate of the nineteenth century which suggests a "cult of true womanhood," a separate "female" education and the rise of domestic science.

Co-education has been discussed in relation to the common school vision of a common curriculum, in common schools, for the common man and woman. It has been argued that once boys and girls-men's daughters, brothers and sisters and female relatives- were taught together the same knowledge from elementary and onto high school the case for separate institutions of higher learning would flounder and lead to the mainstreaming of female students into the liberal arts. These perspectives represent the contending views of women's "nature"- the one that biological determinism ensures innate sexual differences that must be met educationally; the other that it is a gendered construction; and another that women respond no differently to education intellectually and rationally to men. The brain, in short, while sexed (that is embodied) is not gendered. Different educational systems respond to the educational purposes defined by one's views about female nature.

Faculties of Domestic Science were precursors to women's studies by setting the stage for a similarly constructed separatism which would emerge later in the twentieth century, motivated in this case, however, by the needs of women returning to school to complete interrupted education. Such separatism has been ecologically spatial and ideologically motivated although only recently politicized in the form of a more radical feminist discourse. From the outset women's centres were created on campuses across North America to facilitate various forms of "consciousness-raising" which served to increase women's awareness of differentiated and often inequitable societal norms and gender roles in addition to challenging traditional forms of scholarship and education.

During the era of domestic science the cult of true womanhood and ideology of domesticity still shaped the kind of education provided to female students although it had become formalized in public institutions rather than socialized in the private domain. Eventually a more structured and articulated curriculum was distinguished from purely domestic concerns and in turn found a home within women's studies programs. While appearing to be a far cry from either Beecher or Hoodless the historical continuity of the discourse on women's differences is startlingly consistent, even in the present feminist rhetoric. Little did supporters of either Rousseau or Wollstonecraft realize the far-reaching ramification of the original enlightenment debate because their views could not take into account the later development of universal mass education and expanded systems of tertiary training. Rousseau, however, would be gratified if, as Rooke argues, he in fact, politicized and secularized previous common wisdom and theologies (Rooke, 1996).

A somewhat surprising development is that at the University of Alberta the School of Domestic Science has since become a Department of Human Ecology in the Faculty of Agriculture which demonstrates how far the approach to domestic science diminished and how broader conceptions of its various areas had expanded by 1997, Human Ecology gives a science degree that provides majors in three areas; Consumer Studies, Family Studies, and Clothing and Textiles.

Human Ecology is the interdisciplinary study of the human ecosystem: humans as social, physical, and biological beings in interaction with each other and with their physical, socio-cultural, aesthetic, and biological environments, and with the materials and human resources of these

environments. Humans and their near environments are viewed as integrated wholes, mutually influencing each other. Human Ecology views the near environment as a source of essential resources and as the setting for human behavior and development (43.6.1 University of Alberta Calendar 1997).

This also seems a far cry from the original goals of domestic science but the transformation can only be understood in light of the new attitudes towards "domestic" science and the changing roles and functions of women as enfranchised citizens in participatory democracies. Before this, domestic science was recognized as a "feminized" (therefore somewhat irrelevant) faculty and peripheral to the education universities are to provide.

Within women's studies we continue to see a tangible manifestation of separatism in practice. This separatism is politically motivated and seen as a means of empowerment, which creates space for women to grow and develop new bodies of knowledge based on a radical emphasis of standpoint and autonomy. Those who support the notion of women's studies as a separate program argue from various perspectives along an epistemological and ideological continuum that ranges from radical to conservative, but all to a greater or lesser extent engage in deconstructing established concepts and forms of knowledge.

We have also followed the debate and see that just as there are those who support autonomous women's studies programs as a means to access power, there are many prominent and influential dissenters who would also lay claim to the name of "feminist" but argue that women's studies continue to marginalize women just as essentialist arguments did in the past. They claim

that women's studies has become a home for ideologues engaged in identity-politics or ineffectual scholars who proselytize rather than impart what is usually agreed upon by communities of scholars as "objective" knowledge. Yet others would argue that women's studies is an essential step toward the ultimate goal of integration into the mainstream of academic life because it provides epistemological opportunities to generate and legitimate by its own criteria new forms of knowledge and different pedagogical methods which in turn transform the academy as a whole.

If exclusion has led to sexism and discrimination, and arranged our perceptual and conceptual worlds by developing limited and androcentric, knowledge then inclusion shifts the central thrust of inquiry and creates other categories of signification by redefining what is important. It represents a dramatic rethinking of choices, transforming a multitude of areas in which we already work, such as the study of classrooms, teaching and learning, professionalization, achievement, equal opportunity, family, socialization, ethic, social justice, equity, epistemology, and many others (Pearson and Rooke, 1993, 418).

The above is made possible in subtle as well as overt ways and is seen to take place through what has been referred to in Chapter Three as the "permeation principle". In brief, feminist scholarship has begun to shape, influence, and change mainstream scholarship because it is now considered to have developed a legitimate corpus of knowledge in its own right. Consequently educators would be remiss if they were not to include it as a part of their course content or curriculum requirements and would be judged accordingly as either intransigent or reactionary.

II Permeating the University of Alberta

One way of drawing conclusions from the argument put forward in Chapter Three and Chapter Four is to look at the degree to which permeation has occurred. To do so I will present a listing of courses from the Faculty of Arts, which houses the humanities and social sciences. In addition to raising questions about my own subject position, (and even identity-politics)-which constitute challenges to my emotional and intellectual growth- I must now address whether or not integration is a process of evolution from a rudimentary program to the more sophisticated approaches and epistemologies or whether it should remain a separate entity. This is not to infer that "rudimentary" in this sense means crude or basic. Like most evolving disciplines, much empirical and theoretical work must be developed and established before greater specialization occurs. The first generations of women's studies scholars did this pioneer work admirably and an extraordinary body of knowledge and materials over a relatively short period of time has been produced. However the question remains as to whether the steps toward disciplinarity have been taken? Is disciplinarity necessarily mainstreaming? Has women's studies had an impact on traditional disciplines? What has that impact been? While I have not been able to answer all of these questions, I have been able to draw some worthwhile conclusions based on my research, and I believe this chapter best illustrates my point about the 'permeation principle'.

Currently the University of Alberta's Women's studies program has grown to include 17 core courses, an honours program and 35 cross-listed courses.

These cross-listed courses are located throughout the humanities with two showing up in business and human ecology. In 1988 when students first began to enter the women's studies program, they had five core courses to choose from; the first course, Wst 300: Introduction to Women's Studies was a year long introduction to scholarship that discussed the lives of women, past and present, within the context of feminist theory and critique. Wst 301: The History of Feminist Thought discussed feminist intellectual theory in past context from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. In addition to a discussion of the contributions of individual theorists the course catalogue recommends the study of conflict between theories. As has been suggested in Chapter Three of this study one of the reasons to support women's studies as a separate program is the fact that feminist scholars have generated their own methods of doing research and this is precisely the topic of the third course that builds on the previous two by examining various feminist perspectives and the effect such perspectives has on the research agenda themselves, Wst 302: Feminist Methodology and Research. Also offered was an interdisciplinary seminar of individualized and specialized topics Wst 401: Directed Readings in Women's Studies the contents of which are not listed, and a seminar project followed these three courses, instructors for this do not necessarily come from women's studies and have in the past worked voluntarily with students on specialized projects.

As previously stated the women's studies program now offers 17 core courses taught by instructors from various faculties and departments across the campus. In addition to the courses offered in 1988, the program has expanded

to include topics in science, sociology, popular culture, counseling, law, health, personal growth, epistemology, and post-modernism.

In 1988, a student interested in gender or feminist theory could choose to be involved in courses from the women's studies program or look to what was offered throughout the rest of the Faculty of Arts. Looking through the 1988 course calendar, while one gets the impression their choices were limited, this perspective is coloured by the fact that the writer of this study has become "spoiled" and immersed in feminist theories from various forms for the past several years. Table 5-1 presents courses available at the University of Alberta in the Faculty of Arts during the years of 1988 and 1998. It is a comparative study meant to show the degree to which feminist theory has or has not permeated the mainstream.

The courses used for this table came out of the corresponding University of Alberta course calendars and were chosen based on the combination of course title and description. In 1988 there were 20 courses in the Faculty of Arts that gave the appearance of either feminist or female content, in the span of 10 years this number more than doubled to include 44. While some of the courses remained the same in four of the programs, most doubled. In some instances such as Religious Studies there were four offered where there had been none. Both Christian Theology and Religious Studies have developed a corpus of feminist theory. As early as 1984 Mary Daly in Pure Lust had theorized about ontological difference between men and women and not surprisingly this kind of feminist work was adopted in religious studies departments. Some programs

have not been quite as prolific as religious studies and have gone from no courses to one, such as is the case in German, linguistics and music. However, this situation should not be minimized or over shadowed by the fact that programs such as religious studies and history where up to seven courses are offered.

Table 5-1 Courses in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Alberta during the Period of 1988 and 1998

Faculty of Arts	1988	1998
Anthropology	ANTHRO 210 Sex Society and the Individual ANTHRO 410 Sex and Status in Comparative Perspective	ANTHRO 110 Gender Age and Culture ANTHRO 210 The Anthropology of Gender
Canadian Studies		CST 410 The Women's Movement in Canada
Christian Theology	CH RTP 318 Feminist Theology (C) designates the Roman Catholic Tradition (P) designates the Protestant Tradition	CHRTC 349 Christianity and Social Justice in Canada CHRTC 392 Women's Perspectives and Catholic Theology CH RTP 314 Topics in Women and Religion CH RTP 318 Feminist Theology
Religious Studies		RELIG 277 Women and World Religions RELIG 377 Images of the Feminine in the Religious Traditions RELIG 413 Contemporary Issues of Christianity RELIG 477 Feminist Theory and the Study of Religions
Classics	CLASS 361 Studies on Women in Classical Antiquity	CLASS 261 Women in the Ancient World CLASS 497 Topics on Women in Classical Antiquity
Comparative Literature	CLIT 366 Women in World Literature	CLIT 266 Women in World Literature

English	ENGL 357 The English Novel ENGL 395 Women's Literary Tradition	ENGL 305 The English Novel ENGL 390 Writing by Women I ENGL 391 Writing by Women II ENGL 490 Women's Genres ENGL 491 Women's Modernism
Film Studies		F ST 312 The Hollywood Film II: Genre F ST 314 Film and the Representation of Women F ST 414 Topics on Women and Film
French	FREN 311 Readings from French Women Writers FREN 490 Women Writers in France	FREN 246 Readings from French Women Writers FREN 346 Women Writing in French
German		GERM 470 Women in German Literature
Interdisciplinary Undergraduate Courses	INT D 312 The Hollywood Film II: Genre INT D 347 Women and Socialism: USSR and Eastern Europe INT D 475 The Family in Socio-Historical Perspective	INT D 347 Women and Socialism INT D 475 The Family in Socio-Historical Perspective
History	HIST 303 Introduction to the History of Women HIST 371 The History of Women in Canadian Society HIST 413 Women in Modern European History	HIST 206 Introduction to the History of Women in Europe HIST 351 History of Women in the United States HIST 371 The History of Women in Canadian Society HIST 402 Women in Modern European History HIST 454 Topics in American Women's History HIST 461 Topics in History of Immigrant and Ethnic Women in Canada HIST 491 Topics in Comparative Women's History
Japanese	JAPAN 417 Women's Literature in Japan	JAPAN 416 Women's Literature in Japan- Pre-Modern JAPAN 418 Women's Literature in Japan- Modern
Linguistics		LING 322 Language and Gender
Music		MUSIC 279 Women and Music
Philosophy	PHIL 332 Feminist Issues in Political and Social Philosophy	PHIL 332 Feminist Issues in Political and Social Philosophy

		PHIL 368 Equality and Social Justice
Political Science	POL S 350 Women and Politics: A Comparative Perspective	POL S 350 Women and Politics POL S 454 Feminism and Social Change
Sociology	SOC 301 Sociology of Sex Roles SOC 491 Gender Stratification and Differentiation	SOC 301 Sociology of Gender SOC 491 Gender Studies

Table 5-2 represents to what degree in percentage course content per program has changed. As is clearly evident in most courses, there was a marginal increase in the percentage, in some cases, where the courses on gender did not change, the number of total courses offered changed. In the case of a program such as music, the numbers presented are somewhat deceiving because although the total numbers are high, a large portion of the courses are technical or participatory.

Table 5-2 Courses in percentage at the University of Alberta in the Faculty of Arts during the years 1988 and 1999

Faculty of Arts	1988	1998
Anthropology	2/92=2.2%	2/80=2.5%
Canadian Studies		1/15=6.7%
Christian Theology	1/41=2.4%	4/54=7.4%
Classics	1/48=2.1%	2/37=5.4%
Comparative Literature	1/51=2.0%	1/36=2.8%
English	3/102=2.9%	5/98=5.1%
Film Studies		3/26=11.5%
French	2/43=4.7%	2/36=5.6%
German		1/45=2.2%

Interdisciplinary Undergraduate Courses	3/33=9.1%	2/32=6.3%
History	3/169=1.8%	7/158=4.4
Japanese	1/47=2.1%	2/34=5.9%
Linguistics		1/23=4.3%
Music		1/83=1.2%
Philosophy	1/95=1.1%	2/95=2.1%
Political Science	1/110=.91%	2/82=2.4%
Sociology	2/96=2.1%	2/90=2.2%
Religious Studies		4/56=7.1%

One might argue then that feminist approaches have altered the face of the curriculum at University- as an influence on "society's attitudes" both quantitatively and qualitatively, if we are to take the preceding examples seriously. The culture of the university itself has been radically changed from curriculum choice to relations between the sexes of co-ed dormitories.

II Progress and Challenges

Women's studies is the program that has made the most obvious and rapid advances but as we have seen in this cursory survey that observation does not preclude, that as a consequence, others have not. Although it is clear that there has not been uniform growth in various departments and programs in the Humanities nonetheless substantial advances have been made which supports a major premise of this study which argues that women's studies programs have served and will continue to serve, as an agency for the development of particular forms of knowledge, which in turn are disseminated throughout the academy. The number of courses that focus on the status, accomplishments, contributions

and theories of women and gender has risen 20 to a total of 37 in 1997 compared to 17 offered in 1988. It seems apparent that women's studies scholars have impacted the mainstream although whether or not this is the path to full integration is not clear at this point. The impatient may think the advances slow and minimal but given the historically conservative nature of university culture and the checks and balances that constitute standards for rigorous scholarship, the less impatient are not surprised. One thing we might predict in light of either view, is that women's studies faculty and feminist scholars generally will continue to advocate for a further acceptance and recognition of their program. Certainly there are other relevant issues that influence course content in the academy and although these issues have not been raised in this context they could possibly be pursued at another time by someone else doing research.

One of the issues that clearly impacts course content and the academy is the market place. It seems that the market place and corporate sponsorship over the past decade has had a greater influence on determining what is being offered and what is needed to be learned and subsequently taught. This sobering reality is not only prevalent in business and management faculties as business interests encroach on or shape university programs.

A final comment on university structure must take into account the massive "downsizing" and "restructuring" occurring across the country. Some universities have offered major retirement incentives thus losing senior, experienced and published faculty while recruiting more and more students. One

must inquire how these structural and economic shifts are effecting the student body in women's studies programs which are both small and privileged with a personalism large faculties lack, and therefore may be chastized as somewhat "elitist." Will these shifts compel integration no matter the attitudes on the part of either the students, their instructors, or feminists at large? If this is the case the whole discussion on separatism will be rendered moot. Moreover how are such changes affecting the teaching careers of cross-listed instructors and professors as well as women's studies faculty? How long will studies in gender be *'de-rigueur'* and be replaced by another construct more relevant to the socio-cultural conditions of the next century? Whatever the answer to the complexities of the globalized economy, as long as women's studies claims to be revolutionary even feminist critiques of radical corporatism must be embraced. Thus feminism and its vehicle and practice-women's studies-can emerge a threat to the business establishment. If feminist scholars resist the economic seductions of the marriage between universities and corporatism and include these matters into their theory and practice then feminist dissent will be nurtured and seen not as part of the "status-quo" which mainstreaming implies and will remain a "worrisome" discourse. The economic implications suggest another thesis for a sociologist, political scientist, or an education administration graduate student. In concluding this study I would like to suggest further avenues of research which were beyond the mandate of my own work but which I found to be tantalizing questions and problems throughout its writing.

Conclusion: Further Avenues to Explore

This study began with the question. What is the historical precedent to women's studies and concluded with an examination of the degree to which 'feminist' scholarship has permeated traditional/mainstream faculties and departments. The corpus of the text discusses issues relevant to both questions such as essentialism, gender, 'women's ways of knowing', and IDPOL. The first two questions have been answered and supported adequately by the body of the thesis. As the study concludes I must, however, point out that I remain unsatisfied because of the additional questions that have come to fore which lend themselves to further research. Questions that relate directly to the last chapter include: what are the degrees and kinds of permeation to be observed if a national study was conducted either individually or collaboratively? Is it consistent with what can be evidenced at the University of Alberta? What are the differences? To what extent does a culture of the facility determine these differences? More specific to women's studies is the question of which universities and colleges seem to be receptive and which remain unreceptive to feminist scholarship and/or women's studies, and what are the variables which help explain such differentiated responses? Bearing this question in mind it would be interesting to study the forms of scholarship that have emerged from women's studies departments and examine the quality, and quantity, and influence of this by analyzing conferences, journal publications, seminars, and university course development. Or using ethnomethodologies, what might be observed to be the difference between feminist pedagogies and other like-

6

minded pedagogies in actual classroom situations? Moving away from the programs and university structure to the students' questions such as: what percentage of women's studies students continue in women's studies research, work in the community with women's issues, do action research on gender and equity, or graduate work (and in which disciplines)? What evaluations might be elicited from women's studies graduands about the quality of their experience during their university tenure and what its transfer did for them in their work lives? How does women studies undergraduate preparation compare with that of other faculties or departments (this has more to do with knowledge formation, critical abilities and formal skills rather than grades and qualifications)? The next set of questions or explorations would provide insight into faculty staff and instructors by providing an academic profile of women's studies professors (who they are, where they came from, marital status, sexual orientation, social class etc.) compared with female academics who are not in women's studies? Revisiting the 'man question' would consist of an examination of attitudes toward male contributions in women's studies- and to what extent exclusion has taken place (as many men claim). Does separatism imply perpetuity of segregated subjects and segregated faculty? Finally, what is the response of women's studies scholars themselves viz. a viz. the response of feminist scholars working outside women's studies programs and general faculty responses (male, female, feminist and non-feminist) to the claims made by both separatists and the integrationists? This should be conducted nationally using open ended questionnaires and other social science tools which develop questions that flesh out self-interest such as

competition for students and resources and the risks of working oneself out of a job which is implicit in integration.

And finally, to come full circle, there remains a fertile field of historical inquiry and philosophical examination in seeing how and where Rousseau's dictum on female education has been taken since he wrote two centuries ago and to what extent we have improved on it, inverted it, or ignored its implications and historical consequences.

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